THE FUTURE OF PERFORMANCE APPRAISAL FOR CERTIFICATED EDUCATION STAFF IN THE SCHOOL BOARDS OF ONTARIO

Professionalism in Schools Series

Principal Investigators
BRIAN HAYMAN
SUSAN SUSSMAN

This research project was funded under contract by the Ministry of Education, Ontario.

This study reflects the views of the authors and not necessarily those of the Ministry of Education.

The Honourable Sean Conway, Minister

© QUEEN'S PRINTER FOR ONTARIO, 1986

Order Information:

Publications Sales
The Ontario Institute
for Studies in Education
252 Bloor Street West
Toronto, Ontario M5S 1V6
Will invoice on orders over $30.00.
Other orders must be accompanied by a
cheque or money order payable to
O.I.S.E.

Publications Services
880 Bay Street, 5th Floor
Toronto, Ontario M7A 1N8

(416) 965-6015
(Toll Free) 1-800-268-7540
(Toll Free from area code 807)
Ask operator for Zenith 67200
Order must be accompanied by a cheque
or money order payable to the
Treasurer of Ontario

ONO 3794

Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data
Hayman, Brian.
The future of performance appraisal for
certificated education staff in the school boards
of Ontario

(Professionalism in school series)
ISBN 0-7729-1220-3

1. Teachers--Ontario--Rating of. 2. Employees,
Rating of--Ontario. I. Sussman, Susan, 1948- .
II. Ontario. Ministry of Education. III. Title.
IV. Series.

LB2838.H39 1986 371.1'44'09713 C86-099652-2

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Illustrations v

Acknowledgements vi

1.0 Introduction 1

2.0 The Nature of Appraisal 6

3.0 Organizational Context and the Management of Performance 10

  3.1 Introduction 10

  3.2 The ABC's of Management: Prerequisites to Effective Performance Appraisal Practices 12
    3.2.1 Establishing Goals 13
    3.2.2 Division of Labour and Co-ordination of Efforts 15
    3.2.3 Setting Standards 17
  3.3 Issues of Corporate Performance 20

  3.4 Summary 25

4.0 Conceptions of Work and the Implications for Management Strategies ... 29

  4.1 Introduction 29

  4.2 Discretion as a Critical Variable in Jobs 31

  4.3 A Model of the Nature of Work 32

  4.4 Type 1 / D - -: Ends and Means Prescribed 37

  4.5 Type 2 / D - +: Ends Prescribed, Means Discretionary 39

  4.6 Type 3 / D + +: Ends and Means Discretionary 41

  4.7 Summary 48

5.0 The Nature of Teaching Work and the Structural Attributes of the Education System 50

  5.1 Introduction 50

  5.2 Using Professional Bureaucracy Theory to Understand Education Organizations 51

  5.3 Using the Divisionalized Form to Understand Education Organizations 58

  5.4 Using the Rationalistic Model to Understand Education Organizations 61

  5.5 Using the Natural Systems Model to Understand Education Organizations 65

  5.6 Summary 68

6.0 A Re-examination of Performance Appraisal Practices 70

6.1 The Performance Equation 70

6.2 A General Consideration of the Purposes of Performance Appraisal 74

6.3 Using Performance-Appraisal Systems to Select Employees 77

6.4 Using Performance-Appraisal Systems for Performance Monitoring and Feedback 81

6.5 Issues Related to Performance Monitoring in Education Organizations 87

6.6 Options for Motivating and Rewarding Performance 96

6.7 Assessment-based Professional Development 100

6.8 Remediation and Review of Substandard Performance 106

7.0 Conclusions 113

Bibliography 116

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1 : Performance management A 26
Figure 2 : Performance management B 27
Figure 3a : The performance equation - Organizational context 71
Figure 3b : Organizational context 71
Figure 3c : Organizational context 73

A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR THINKING ABOUT PERFORMANCE APPRAISAL AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION OF PERFORMANCE APPRAISAL SYSTEMS FOR CERTIFICATED EDUCATION STAFF IN THE SCHOOL BOARDS OF ONTARIO

Acknowledgements

This report is one product of a research contract between Hay Management Consultants and the Ontario Ministry of Education.

Throughout the course of this project, we were provided with consistent support and constructive feedback from an Advisory Group convened by the Ministry, and comprised of representatives from various Ontario stakeholder groups. We thank everyone who participated in the Advisory Group, and especially Mr. Bruce Archer, Mr. Noel Clarke, Ms. Sandra Gaskell, and Mr. Michael Prokapitch for their unflagging interest, patience, and willingness to help us in many different ways throughout the length of the project.

We also want to express our appreciation to our colleagues at Hay Management Consultants, who generously shared their own perspectives on, and experiences with, performance appraisal and who took the time to provide useful advice and assistance whenever asked. Thanks, too, to our Administrative Assistant Sandra Sarwan who skilfully handled the difficult and sometimes frustrating task of making our lengthy text conform to publisher's prescriptions.

This project consumed much of our attention, energy, and time over a two-year period. Through it all, our families supported us with help, understanding, and encouragement. Our love and gratitude to Brian's wife, Zella, and to Susan's family, Edward, Jacob, and Alexander Blackstock.

Finally, it is a pleasure to acknowledge our primary contact at the Ministry of Education, Dr. Peter Nightingale. From the beginning to the end of this project, Peter was the one person who could always be counted on to show keen interest and informed insight with respect to our work. He provided us with every assistance possible, and for all his good will and good work we shall always be grateful. Most of all, Peter understood that questions can grow over time and he supported us as we wrestled with a task that grew as we tried to understand it.

1.0 Introduction

The present study is specifically about personnel-performance appraisal in education. It is directed primarily to those educators who have responsibility for making choices about the use of personnel evaluation systems in the school boards of Ontario. The assignment reflects a need to achieve an appropriate balance between research and consulting by providing information and advice simultaneously. The purpose of this study is to provide a bridge between what is and what might be: to point out the implications of what is known and to provide guidelines for new initiatives and developments in the use of personnel evaluation systems in the schools of Ontario.

What is already known about formal personnel performance-appraisal systems is something less than inspiring. While there is a widely shared perception that the evaluation of performance is one of the most important activities in which an organization can engage, theoreticians and practitioners alike will agree that few organizational activities are as poorly done (Levinson 1976, Patz 1975, Winstanley 1980). Ralph (1980) sums it up well:

> The road of personnel administration history is strewn with the bleached bones of performance evaluation systems, introduced grudgingly, and ineffectual or even disruptive in effect. (p. 145)

Performance evaluation in education organizations appears to have fared no better.

> Evaluation of educational personnel is tricky, highly political, and still has a long way to go. Except for the few researchers who discuss it from a distance and the even fewer administrators who are confident of their skills with it, evaluation generally gets a negative or, at best, lukewarm rating. (Lewis 1982: 7)

It will be necessary to come to some understanding of the reasons for such manifest discrepancies between good intentions and mediocre or even dreadful practice, if the current project is to make a useful contribution to the effectiveness of the Ontario education system.

After reviewing the literature on teacher-evaluation systems and then surveying 32 North American school districts identified as having highly developed teacher-evaluation systems, Wise et al. (1984) conclude that "teacher evaluation presently is an underconceptualized and underdeveloped activity." An examination of the results of a survey of performance-evaluation practices throughout the school boards of Ontario recently conducted by a team from the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (Lawton, Hickcox, Musella, and Leithwood 1984) leads to a similar conclusion about the state of performance-evaluation affairs in the education system of this province.

Performance-evaluation theory and practice, for the most part, appear to have evolved without regard for much of what is known about the nature of organizations and management theory and practice, and have suffered because of this. Until relatively recently most performance-appraisal theory and practice developed out of the need to manage highly engineered work in large, stable, highly rational, and hierarchical industrial organizations. Performance-appraisal theories and practices evolving in these contexts embodied particular conceptions of work and the organizational forms needed to manage that work. Similarly, early performance-appraisal practices in education matched a factory-model and assembly-line conception of mass education.

Since the early 1970's organizational theorists have turned their attention to other types of work (e.g., Drucker's "knowledge work") and to other organizational forms (e.g., Mintzberg's "professional bureaucracies" and "adhocracies"). Efforts to adjust performance-appraisal practices to these newer conceptions of work and organizations have been limited and have met with limited success. In education organizations, newer practices in appraising the work of educational managers (i.e., management-by-objectives approaches) have allowed for differences between management work and assembly-line work, but to a large extent teaching work continues to be appraised as if it most closely resembles the work of assembly-line workers. In large measure, the limited effectiveness of many performance-appraisal systems may be attributed to a failure to recognize and allow for qualitative differences between jobs.

Not just the differences between jobs have been overlooked in the design of performance-appraisal systems; so have the differences between organizations. From much of the literature on personnel—performance appraisal in education organizations, one might presume that all education organizations are more or less the same, that all the work done within those organizations is more or less the same. One might also assume that the only important differences between appraisal systems used by different education organizations have to do with technical issues - that is, the nuts and bolts of appraisal mechanisms. Education journals endlessly feature advice about who should do the appraising, how often appraisals should occur, how observations of performance should be recorded, which forms and instruments are the best, where data should be stored, and so forth. Rarely are these testimonials to technique tempered by anything more than the most superficial consideration of which organizational context these techniques might suit best.

The most serious shortcoming in current approaches to performance appraisal has resided in the view that performance-appraisal issues are technical concerns first and foremost, and in the failure to appreciate that performance appraisal must be understood and examined with a conceptual understanding of the unique organizational context in which it is expected to operate. Performance-appraisal systems must accurately reflect the organizational structure, management style, goals, and performance standards which characterize the target organization. An "educational landscape...littered with the remnants of unsuccessful procedures produced by bygone fads, administrators, and policies" (Wise et al. 1984) is the wasteful result of too many organizations having failed to carefully examine and understand their own unique needs, culture, and configuration before addressing themselves to the task of making performance-appraisal decisions. It is equally essential to recognize that certain performance-management tasks are logically and practically linked to one another, and that "performance appraisal" systems can only be effectively designed and implemented if prerequisite management responsibilities have been effectively and meaningfully discharged.

We take the position that performance-appraisal practices must be viewed, and related policies must be made, in the broader context of all the other activities that comprise and have impact upon management work. Support for this position, particularly in relation to performance-appraisal practices in education, is suggested by the recent work of Lawton et al. (1984).

> Linkages between the two (organizational structure, roles, etc., and performance appraisal processes)...ought to be present. If they are not, and performance appraisal operates independently of the fundamental structure and operations of the organization, then performance appraisal is at best a hollow ritual. On the other hand, if links are developed, these links, if exploited appropriately, can ensure that information developed during the appraisal process can be used to make the organization more effective by changing, as appropriate, its goals, structures, and operational processes. (p. 319)

The scope of the present research contract has not called for any systematic investigation into the broad range of management strategies employed by the education systems of Ontario or into the culture(s) of those organizations. While we have been amply supplied with information about the current state of the art of formal performance-appraisal practices in education (see Ondrack 1984a and 1984b; and Lawton et al. 1984), our base of information about management practices in the education systems of Ontario has been much less complete, and we have had only limited opportunities to gather "impressions" of the culture of these organizations.

Thus, it would be premature at this time for us to take a definitive stand on how and when the education systems of Ontario should employ performance-appraisal systems. What is called for, instead, and what we shall provide in the following chapters, is clarification of the organizational issues which must be addressed by education policy makers before they make expensive decisions about potential applications of performance-appraisal systems. At this time it is their job to know their organizations. Our guidelines will enable them to use that knowledge in order to arrive at more appropriate and effective decisions. This report has been structured in such a way that the major issues related to performance appraisal are presented in the order in which an organization considering performance appraisal will need to address them.

This study is presented in seven chapters. The present "Introduction" describes the research question and outlines the organization of the rest of the report. The second chapter, "The Nature of Appraisal", looks at the forces driving efforts to formalize and objectify the act of appraising performance, and some of the issues and problems associated with such efforts.

The third chapter, "Organizational Context and the Management of Performance", is derived from the assumption that performance-appraisal practices must be consistent with, and linked to, a range of organizational features. Outlined are three major responsibilities of management which need to be effectively discharged before an organization develops or implements a personnel performance-evaluation system for formative or summative purposes. In general these management responsibilities are in the domains of effective planning, organizing, staffing, and supervision. Education policy makers are cautioned to consider whether the organization they serve has done the essential groundwork that must support the building of effective personnel-evaluation structures.

The fourth chapter, "Conceptions of Work and the Implications for Management Strategies", takes the position that effective performance-management strategies precede effective formative or summative performance-appraisal systems, and that both must be derived from a clearly articulated, consistent, and appropriate understanding of the nature of the work to be managed. Such conceptions of work embody major assumptions about accountabilities within an organization. Ideally there will be consensus in the organization about the appropriateness of these judgements concerning the nature of work. Minimally, the judgements will be made explicit by management and will be reflected consistently in management practices and policies.

To put this in an educational framework, before educators can make appropriate choices about how to evaluate workers in their organizations, they must make explicit and appropriate choices about how they will manage them and how they will assign accountabilities. These choices need to be based upon an explicit and consistent conception of the nature of the work done by people in education systems. This fourth chapter presents a theoretical model developed to facilitate thought and discussion about alternative conceptions of the nature of work. The model posits that work differs with respect to the degree to which workers are required and expected to exercise discretion in the performance of their jobs. Strategies which are appropriate for the management of three basic types of work are described. Educators are encouraged to examine their own assumptions related to the nature of work done by those in educational organizations, and to consider whether the current or planned management strategies are appropriate, given these conceptions of the work being done.

The fifth chapter, "The Nature of Teaching Work and the Structural Attributes of the Education System", uses concepts developed in previous chapters to examine the nature of the educational task, as well as the work of the operating core of the education system (i.e., teaching work). This examination is necessitated by the position taken that conceptions of the educational task bear major implications for conceptions of the nature of teaching work, and that these conceptions, in turn, significantly shape and constrain the roles of players in the education system and the evaluation of performance in those roles. In the final analysis, questions about the nature of the educational task and the nature of teaching can and must only be answered by educators themselves and by the major stakeholders in the education system. We do not presume to know these answers (although we have developed opinions about them). The focus of the fifth chapter, then, is to raise some of the important questions that bear on an understanding of education and teaching, and to describe some of the implications for management and evaluation decisions that are entailed in the differing views. Four models of education organizations and the conceptions of teaching work embodied in each are described in order to highlight the implications of each for performance management.

The sixth chapter, "A Re-examination of Performance-Appraisal Practices", describes the implications of all of the previous chapters for performance-appraisal practices in general, and in education organizations in particular. Technical issues related to using performance-appraisal systems for six specific organizational purposes (selection; monitoring and feedback; professional development; remediation; dismissal; and reward) are examined in light of alternative conceptions of the nature of teaching work. Approaches to performance appraisal in education currently in vogue are examined in light of the conceptual framework developed in this report.

Rather than presenting them in a separate chapter, our specific recommendations for the use, development, and implementation of personnel performance-appraisal systems for certificated education staff in Ontario have been incorporated into the body of this report. This will discourage those who would seek short-cuts to the solution of complex problems from taking our advice out of context. The major issues and recommendations identified in this report are generally summarized in the seventh and final chapter of this study.

2.0 The Nature of Appraisal

Performing and appraising are natural everyday activities both inside and outside the world of work. Organizations do things and judgements are continually being made about how well or how badly these things have been done: clients make judgements about the services they receive; shareholders about corporate performance; management about matters of productivity and organizational effectiveness; employees about the nature of their work assignments and the administration of reward systems; one department about the service of another; regulators about compliance with legislation; a line manager about the advice received from a staff specialist; a policy maker about a line manager's administration of policy; society about issues of corporate citizenship and social responsibility. Beyond these are the countless "little" judgements that individuals make about the performance of others - whether another is friendly or unfriendly, outgoing or shy, competent or incompetent, cautious or careless, honest or deceitful. Evaluating others is a natural and spontaneous feature of our lives.

Thus, appraisal happens naturally and spontaneously both inside and outside of organizations. In most social and personal situations outside the world of work, people are relatively free to choose the responses they will make to their judgements of others. Because they are rarely held publicly accountable for these appraisals, these private judgements can be made without the unpleasantness, discomfort, or inconvenience that is associated with having to explain them. Thus, a casual relationship may be pursued to friendship, or gradually terminated, depending on how one judges the value or desirability of that relationship. Perceiving that one has been poorly served by the sales staff of a particular store, one may complain to the management or, as is more often the case, one may simply set about finding another place to shop.

Where social relationships are characterized by a continual stream of perfectly natural and informal appraisals of people and situations for which one need account to no one, relationships and appraisals in the workplace are a far different matter. In the first place, organizations must develop and employ mechanisms that will make available the relevant and critical feedback from appraisals, when and where it is needed to maintain or improve performance. Equally important, organizations must safeguard the rights of employees to fair-employment practices. Elliott Jacques (1977) notes:

> The employment contract is one of the most important social contracts in industrialized societies....It is concerned with the conditions under which people work for a wage or salary, their duties and entitlements, and raises all the vexed questions of security of employment, of hiring and firing, of redundancy, of transfer. When a governing body employs someone to do work for the association, the two parties join together in an employment contract in which the governing body agrees to pay the employee for his services, while the employee agrees to carry out such work as the governing body might, within reasonable limits, decide to give him.

> Moreover - and here is the point of the very greatest emotional sensitivity in our whole construction, the central point around which all else revolves - the employee agrees to be accountable to the governing body for the quality of his work, and to recognize that if the governing body is not satisfied it is entitled to dispense of his services. The conditions under which this judgement of quality is made, and the safeguards for the employee are among the most important questions of social justice in industrial societies. (p. 55)

In the world of work, the formalization and systematization of the appraisal of worker performance has kept pace with the entrenchment of the rights of workers to employment safeguards in the justice systems of industrial nations. These formal systems are generally referred to as performance-appraisal systems. It is important to recognize, however, that all the other combinations of performing and appraising mentioned at the beginning of this chapter are equally critical factors in the performance of the organization. Those other relationships yield data which must also be put to effective use to enhance overall organizational performance. Accounting for, and working with, that data is a large part of the overall performance-management task.

The difficulties that are experienced with worker-performance appraisal in organizational settings arise not because appraisal is unnatural, but rather because attempts to formalize it are unnatural. Nalbandian (1981) makes this point:

> A supervisor's willingness to evaluate begins with his or her perspective on the appraisal process....Supervisors generally believe they know who their effective employees are, even if they cannot articulate the reasoning behind their assessments....While supervisors may miscalculate in these informal assessments, the key point is that they believe they know the capabilities of their employees. Thus, from a motivational standpoint, most supervisors conduct a formal evaluation not because it facilitates the performance of their own job, but because subordinates, superordinates, or perhaps the personnel department has (sic) requested or mandated it. In other words, from the supervisor's perspective, he or she is being asked to duplicate an assessment already made, and is doing so for somebody else's benefit. (p. 394)

In their survey of performance appraisal practices in Ontario, reporters Lawton, Hickcox, Leithwood, and Musella (1984) found that teachers and principals most often believed that the "real" reason for doing performance appraisal was to comply with Ministry and school-board policies. Purposes related either to personnel or organization improvement or administrative decision making were cited considerably less frequently. Ondrack and Oliver (1984b) observed this phenomenon in their field studies in U.S. school boards as well.

> Principals knew who the good teachers were by the time they became senior staff and it was felt to be redundant to try to appraise them on basic competencies and teacher observations. (p. 163)

The issue for organizations is not how to get people to make appraisal judgements, but rather how to get them to make their judgements in formalized, systematic, and defensible ways, so as to satisfy not only the major stakeholders, who are party to the process inside the organization, but also, increasingly, the regulatory and legislative agencies outside the organization. The desire to design and implement "objective" appraisal systems is motivated by the perception that appraisal, in its natural and spontaneous manifestations, is subjective. This perception is not entirely wrong, and so the trend is not entirely undesirable.

> Subjective appraisal methods lend themselves to favoritism, inefficiency, and conflict in the management of personnel. They permit race, sex, age, friendship, and other non-job-related factors to subvert the evaluation process. Modern techniques of evaluation attempt to minimize abuses of both the appraisal function and the employees being evaluated. These new techniques suggest that an employee's contribution to an organization can be explicitly described and that such descriptions allow employees to understand more clearly what is expected of them. (Nalbandian 1981: 392)

As commendable as the trend towards greater fairness is, there is a risk of throwing the baby out with the bath water; in this case, judgement with subjectivity. In an attempt to make performance appraisal objective and defensible to a variety of existing and potential audiences, there is a temptation to imagine the possibility of an evaluation system which does not require judgement for its effective management; in other words, an appraisal system which relies on objective, measurable, and quantifiable criteria capable of standing up to any judicial scrutiny. However, only the most mechanical work lends itself to such mechanical appraisal. A machine is working or it isn't. As work becomes increasingly complex, there is a corresponding increase in the need for the worker to exercise discretion about the ends and means of his or her efforts. When the performance of work requires the exercise of discretion, then logically the evaluation of that work must rely heavily on judgement as well. Further, even if it were conceptually possible to totally divorce judgement from appraisal, one must question whether it would be desirable to do so.

> Human beings are always trying to substitute so-called objective indicators in place of the simple act of human judgement, and losing the essence of human ability in the process. This kind of technocracy is a prime enemy of humanity in industrial societies....The competence of a person must always be judged in terms of how well or how badly he did in the obtaining circumstances. There is no way of avoiding the exercise of human judgement, and what is more there never will be any. All the computers in the world could not make the judgement....Managerial accountability systems are not only accountability systems; they are systems of accountability built on human judgement. The art is not to try to eliminate human judgement but to ensure that it is fully employed. The exercise of judgement is the greatest of human assets. (Jacques 1977: 55-56)

The task at hand, then, is to determine how best to ensure that human judgement is fully and defensibly employed in the determination of "how well or how badly (the worker) did in the obtaining circumstances" (Jacques, 1977). In the long run, achieving this end will depend upon the soundness of the conceptual foundation undergirding the performance-appraisal system.

Without that solid foundation, all the apparent sophistication of complex appraisal methodologies will amount to little more than time-consuming rigmarole.

3.0 Organizational Context and the Management of Performance

3.1 Introduction

Organizations exist for a purpose. They are the means to some ends and not ends in themselves.

> A school is set up for the purpose of educating students; if it is an elementary school, then it teaches only elementary classes. A political party has as its purpose persuading the electorate in a specific area to put it in power. A firm's purpose is to produce and market goods or services. A government bureau is set up, often by an act of the legislature, to provide certain quite specific services to the citizenry. The specificity of purposes can vary, of course, between organizations....Not only do organizations have specific purposes, they organize themselves to achieve these. Most activities in an organization are undertaken in the belief (sometimes mistaken) that they help the organization achieve its purposes....This specificity of purposes and of the means by which these purposes are attained is a highly visible and important characteristic of organizations. (Khandwalla 1977: 5)

Organizations employ people to act in purposeful ways to achieve certain predetermined results: to provide some product or service; to satisfy some need; in other words, to do work. Some of those employed have, as their primary responsibility, performance of the basic work related directly to the production of the organization's products or services. Mintzberg (1983) refers to these workers as "the operating core".

> The operating core is the heart of every organization, the part that produces the essential outputs that keep it alive. But, except for the very smallest ones, organizations need administrative components too. (p. 12)

Others of these employed have the responsibility for ensuring the satisfactory operation and performance of the organization as a whole, as well as for the satisfactory performance and operation of subunits of the organization. These people are broadly referred to as management.

Managements across North America increasingly have been expected to prove to their shareholders or constituencies that the organizations or groups they lead are worth their cost, are effectively serving appropriate purposes, and are appropriately discharging the responsibilities of corporate citizenship. The senior managements of education systems across Canada and the United States have experienced keenly the pressure for public accountability for at least the past decade, and there is reason to believe that the pressure will not abate in the next decade (Sapone 1980; Flynn 1978; Elliot et al. 1981; Bortner 1979; McDaniel 1982).

Reasons for this "bandwagon" movement (in education) include:

> - rising costs of schooling as reflected in tax bills;
> - dissatisfaction with learning results;
> - heightened relationships between education and employment as opportunities for the unskilled and undereducated are closed off;
> - rapid social changes stimulating increased concern for, and sharp disagreements over, the proper tasks of the school;
> - expansion of federal aid-to-education programs (in the United States), most of which require reports stressing accountability; and
> - growing interest in adapting "modern management" techniques to the schools. (Bortner 1979: 33)

Formal and systematic, personnel performance-appraisal systems increasingly are seen as the "modern management" technique needed to both ensure and increase organizational effectiveness and to promote accountability. Wuhs and Manatt (1983) report that before 1971 only six states in the United States required teacher evaluation, and only four required administrator evaluation; while in 1983, 26 states required that teachers be evaluated, and 22 of these also required that administrators be evaluated. The great majority of these states has avowed a primary interest in the improvement of performance through the formalization of evaluation, while only a small number acknowledges a primary interest in accountability. It is, nevertheless, no coincidence that the rapid creation of laws requiring educator evaluation has occurred in an era of accountability-consciousness (Lewis, 1982).

The burdening of performance-appraisal systems with the explicit or implicit responsibility for improved performance and accountability in education organizations - two not-necessarily compatible organizational requirements - provides some insight into the apparent lack of effectiveness of performance-appraisal systems in the service of either end. The information required to provide the lay public with "proof" of the worth of the efforts of the education system is unlikely to be the same information needed to facilitate or improve teacher performance and organizational effectiveness.

There is an even more significant explanation for the relative lack of positive impact of performance-appraisal systems on organizations in general, and on educational organizations in particular: that is, insufficient attention has been paid to the fact that, for formal performance-appraisal systems to be used productively to serve organizational effectiveness and accountability, these systems must be rationally linked to the overall organizational goals, structure, and strategy. Such links can be forged only when a number of fundamental management responsibilities have been discharged effectively before an organization sets about the business of developing and implementing formal performance-appraisal systems. The decisions taken about performance appraisal must be shaped by the intentions and strategies inherent in these other management actions. In short, performance-appraisal systems must be contextual; any inquiry into "how to" do performance appraisal in a given organization must be conducted with an understanding of how the work of the organization is managed.

It is important to acknowledge that, just as performance appraisal is only a piece of management work and must be considered in light of a broad picture of management strategies in any given organization, management, in turn, is not an entirely independent variable in any organization. Organizations are complex socio-technical systems and cannot be thought of as simply the sum total of their visible and tangible assets (people, technology, machines, and money) and their management strategies. Organizations define themselves in a great variety of ways: they develop positions - strategic and attitudinal - in relation to their environments (social, economic, competitive, regulatory, client, shareholder); they have histories; they embody values around which are developed formal and informal systems of rewards and punishments; they assign tasks to their members; and devise methods for integrating their efforts. An organization represents a collective human enterprise and, therefore, can be said to have a culture which distinguishes it from other organizations. To some extent, that culture is chosen; however, to a large extent it simply evolves over time through the dynamic interplay of the factors described above.

The culture of the organization permeates and has an impact upon everything in that organization: the workers of the operating core and management, the processes of the work itself, and the results of work that are achieved. A full understanding of how and why organizations choose among, and use, specific management strategies must include an appreciation of the unique culture or character of that organization, and how that culture conditions the choices and responses made by the organization.

3.2 The ABC's of Management: Prerequisites to Effective Performance-Appraisal Practices

Three areas of management responsibility bearing major implications for the development and application of performance-appraisal systems are described below. Included with these descriptions are data which reflect on the manner in which these responsibilities are currently discharged in the education system of Ontario. It is important to acknowledge that this data was collected only coincidentally rather than systematically. That is, we did not set out in any rigorous way to examine the education system's practices with regard to these management areas. Thus, the data is put forward cautiously, only to indicate that our work has raised some questions about whether or not these management areas are being handled in ways that are conducive to the building of solid personnel performance-appraisal systems. Further, we believe that the questions raised here show symptoms of some fundamental, conceptual issues which make the task of managing the education system enormously complex. We have attempted to present these larger issues, as we understand them, here and in chapters 5 and 6, drawing attention to their implications for management strategies and practices.

3.2.1 Establishing Goals

Within any unique organizational context, management's first responsibility is to determine the purpose of the organization, or subunit, at any point in time, and to translate this understanding into organizational goals and performance objectives. Drucker (1974) describes this responsibility, relative to the management of service organizations thus:

> They need to define "what is our business and what should it be". They need to bring alternatives of definition into the open, and to think them through carefully, perhaps even to work out...the balance of different and even conflicting definitions....They need to derive clear objectives and goals from their definition of function and mission. (p. 158)

The effective discharge of this responsibility is especially critical in an era of high "accountability", as stakeholders, or those representing their interests, demand proof that the essential responsibilities of the organization are being discharged appropriately. Most common understandings of accountability thus call for the specification of organizational objectives, and the assessment of performance in relation to these objectives.

The literature on organizational goals and objectives reveals that, while deemed by all parties to be critical to the effective functioning of organizations, these concepts remain ambiguous. Some experts assert that goals should remain broad and timeless, lending themselves neither to measurement criteria nor evaluation, while objectives should specify desired accomplishments which can be measured within a given time frame. Webber (1975), on the other hand, uses the same terms with precisely opposite meanings attached. Sayles (1979), in turn, emphasizes the need for goals to say something concrete:

> In pleasing sponsors of large-scale, diffuse programs, it becomes especially important to define goals that will allow for measurement. Thus goals must not be defined too broadly or too narrowly. An astute observer noted that the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), by defining its goals in global terms - attacking poverty - found it difficult to justify its existence, to prove its effectiveness. At the other extreme, some would argue that NASA erred by overemphasizing a too-well-defined, finite goal: the Moon landing. It had difficulty maintaining support after its magnificent achievement. (p. 149)

Perrow (1970) points to the confusion that arises when goals and means become confused:

> What one observer calls a goal, another may equally designate as a means towards some higher or more general goal. (p. 134)

The aim here is not to attempt to raise or resolve the myriad issues relevant to how organizations develop and articulate appropriate purposes and goals. Rather the intent is simply to make these points: that to a significant degree organizations, and everything that happens within them (including the performance of employees), derive from some sense of purpose and some understanding of goals; that the responsibility for fixing purpose and clarifying goals, at any time, usually rests with management; and that, without a clear and unambiguous declaration of goals, management will be hard-pressed to satisfy demands for accountability.

In a series of interviews 21 educational experts, most of whom were from the Ontario education system, were asked to comment on the overall goals of the education system of Ontario, and to suggest how these goals might change over the next decade. The great majority of experts expressed the opinion that the Ministry of Education's stated goals were global, inoffensive "motherhood"-type dictums, which would permit the rationalization of almost any educational practice or thrust - past, present, or future. They noted that verification of the attainments of these goals would be most difficult if not entirely impossible. These Ontario observers would find themselves in the company of numerous experts on educational administration. The problem of diffuseness of goals in education organizations is well documented in the literature on education management.

Lipsky (1980) claims that ambiguity and a lack of clarity related to organizational goals is characteristic of most public-service organizations, including education systems, and derives not necessarily from irresponsible management, but from the nature of public-service work which necessarily embodies competing and conflicting interests.

> Public service goals...tend to have an idealized dimension that makes them difficult to achieve and confusing and complicated to approach. Goals such as good health, equal justice, and public education, are indeed, as Martin Landau has observed, "more like receding horizons than fixed targets".
>
> Agency goals may be ambiguous because the conflicts that existed when programs were originally developed were submerged....Agency goals also may be ambiguous because they have accumulated by accretion and have never been rationalized, and it remains functional for the agency not to confront its goal conflicts....Another major source of ambiguity may be found in the uncertainty of social service technologies. When there are uncertainties over what will or will not work, there is greater room for admitting and tolerating a variety of approaches and objectives. In such a situation there is often a hunger for discovering successful techniques and an apparent willingness to modify objectives to suit the techniques. The speed with which new ideas in education come and go primarily suggests a search for successful techniques, but also indicates an indecisiveness in objectives attributable as much to goal ambiguity as to flexibility.
>
> (W)hile agency goals may be unclear or contradictory for reasons of neglect and historical inertia, they may be also be unclear or contradictory because they reflect the contradictory impulses of the society the agency serves. Schools attempt to instruct, but they also inculcate attitudes towards social behaviour and citizenship. They do this not because educators are fuzzy but because both these objectives are favoured by parents and because there is no convincing case that they are mutually incompatible. (Lipsky 1980: 41)

Lipsky's position causes one to question the extent to which it is conceptually possible for the management of education organizations to establish clear and specific goals. Yet it has been suggested earlier that everything that happens within an organization will be derived, at least to some extent, from a sense of purpose and an understanding of what is supposed to be happening. Where clarity and unity in sense of purpose are either theoretically impossible or politically undesirable, management efforts to steer and control performance in such an organization are likely to be only minimally effective at best. Lipsky suggests that performance-control systems in these situations will provide little more than "a veneer of accountability without in fact constraining behaviour very much". (Lipsky, 164)

Beyond the question of what is theoretically possible in the establishment of clear and meaningful goals for education organizations, there is a question of what is technically possible. Curriculum guidelines issued by the Ontario Ministry of Education, as well as other Ministry initiatives and policies, were seen by the experts as the mechanisms by which general goals were translated into more meaningful and specific directions for the practice of education in the province. After a comprehensive examination of the content of Ontario curriculum guidelines, Robinson (1982) writes:

> Guidelines, after all, are the superordinate curriculum policy documents: all else must follow from them in some sense. Consequently, if the structural and semantic weaknesses of guidelines are anywhere near the proportion indicated (in this review), efforts to base a rational program of implementation on their content seem predestined to failure. But, ordered to "implement", boards will make some gesture towards implementation. In our estimate, tens of thousands of person-days are given over each year in Ontario to "implementation activities" which have not a "snowball's chance in hell" of making the slightest difference to educational practice. (p. 165)

This conclusion provides some evidence that present techniques in Ontario for creating operational objectives for education leave something to be desired. As indicated already, the present research effort did not involve a comprehensive or first-hand review of the province's goal-and-objective setting practices in education. However, the limited information collected about goal setting at the Ministry level suggests that it may be appropriate to question whether or not current practices provide a sufficient foundation upon which meaningful performance-appraisal systems may ultimately be built.

3.2.2 Division of Labour and Co-ordination of Efforts

Having determined the "what" of an organization, management must also determine the "how" of achieving it. Thus management is responsible for developing strategies by which the organization, or subunit, can serve its intended purpose. The rational division of labour and the development of effective mechanisms to co-ordinate the efforts of workers is a major and essential aspect of this management responsibility (Webber 1975; Porter, Lawler, and Hackman 1975; Sayles 1979).

Top levels of an organization make decisions related to organization structure and the relationships between roles. Job descriptions are created to define and document the scope of responsibilities and authority is assigned to each role in the organization. This delegation of responsibility and authority creates a chain of accountabilities. Where the strategy underlying the division of labour has been a sound one, the extent to which individuals in the organization do or do not achieve their goals will have a major impact on the accomplishment of organizational goals.

Personnel-performance appraisal, on a basic level, is the act of assessing the match between actual performance and expected performance of individual workers. In large measure, the effectiveness of a performance-appraisal system will be constrained by the extent to which expectations about performance can be, and have been, clearly articulated.

Most organizations use written job descriptions as a primary vehicle for documenting these performance expectations. However, the degree to which these job descriptions effectively or comprehensively describe the end results to be achieved by the person in a specific job, as well as the duties and responsibilities required to achieve these end results, varies from organization to organization. Job descriptions for educators need to be specific enough to communicate clearly the criteria that will be used to evaluate their performance.

After exhaustively reviewing performance appraisal and related policies and practices in the school boards of Ontario, Lawton et al. (1984) noted a number of weaknesses in the current linkages between job descriptions and performance-appraisal practices. Commenting on the relationship between annual objectives as set in objectives-based performance-appraisal systems and job descriptions, he notes:

> It was not unusual to see annual "objectives" that were permanent elements of a job, with no reference being made to the job description. In other cases there was total reliance on objectives-based appraisals with no attention being paid to the perennial aspects of the job. (p. 320)

Further, he observes that, in the appraisal of principals, detailed lists of either criterion domains or specific criteria were not necessarily tied to job descriptions.

> Job descriptions...tend not to be affected by the results of appraisals even when it is evident that the appraisal system is being used, as it is in the case of principals and teachers, to encourage activities not fully agreed to by all parties. It would seem there is a need for job descriptions to be altered, either within board policies, employment contracts, or even provincial legislation in order to remove this burden from the appraisal process. (p. 327)

The point raised here is critical to the effectiveness of performance-appraisal systems in education. No workers, including those in the education system of Ontario, are likely ever to accept or be comfortable with an appraisal process that holds them accountable for work which they have not agreed to do in the first place.

3.2.3 Setting Standards

Finally, having decided the "what" and "how" of an organization, an additional management responsibility must be addressed: management must also articulate its expectations of "how well". An organization needs to be able to articulate the standards by which it will judge its own performance overall. Boettinger (1973) notes that a fundamental requirement for "managing in a changing world" is

> the selection of criteria of effectiveness, and securing acceptance of them by those constituencies that can assert a legitimate interest. Without clear criteria, the entire process of management becomes absurd, because a manager cannot rationally develop those objectives and goals necessary to lead large numbers of individuals engaged in a common effort....
>
> The large question ahead is how to maintain (the vigor, responsiveness, and drive one finds in business management)...with an expanded set of criteria, of far less precision than profits. What (other) criteria of performance exist or are possible?...Until criteria of performance for nonprofit areas like education and government activity can be developed and accepted, all attempts to "manage" them - in the sense of purposeful control - will probably founder. (pp. 13-14)

About this responsibility in managing service organizations Drucker (1974) writes:

> They have to think through priorities of concentration which enable them to select targets, to set standards of accomplishment and performance, that is to define the minimum work on results, and to make someone accountable for results....They need to define measurements of performance (and)...use these measurements to feedback on their efforts, that is to build self-control from results into their system....Finally, they need an organized audit of objectives and results, so as to identify those objectives that no longer serve a purpose or have proven unattainable. They need to identify unsatisfactory performance, and activities which are obsolete or unproductive or both. And, they need a mechanism for sloughing off such activities, rather than wasting their money and their energies where results are unsatisfactory. (p. 158)

It is absolutely critical to acknowledge that organizations do not create performance criteria/standards, post hoc, simply for the sake of making it possible to appraise corporate or individual performance of the job. Rather, performance standards must long precede performance-appraisal systems. They should be basic elements of job design. Performance standards should imply an understanding of the raison d'être of the organization and the jobs therein; they should inform decisions regarding who is allowed to do the work in the first place, and they should inform the processes used to manage workers in the organization. All this goes to say that organizations considering the design and implementation of performance-appraisal systems must understand what they mean by performance before they decide what they will mean by appraisal.

Lipsky (1980) suggests that managers of most public-service institutions will be hard pressed to handle this area of responsibility in a meaningful way.

> However, (public service) bureaucracies do establish standards and measure worker's performance against these standards. For example, policemen typically are asked to make a certain number of arrests per month. Social workers are asked to maintain a certain monthly intake and case-closing rate. But these measures are only problematically related to public safety, or to the client's ability to cope with problems that are in part the objectives of these interactions....
>
> Not only are such standards problematically related to goals, but it is not even apparent whether measured increases or decreases signal better or worse performance. The best illustration of the consideration is the problem of inference from crime statistics. Do increases in arrest rates signal improved police performance, or do they signal deteriorating police performance, indicating an increase in criminal activity, and thus in the number of criminals available to catch? Actually, the changes in arrest rates may indicate neither, reflecting rather changes in the focus of police patrol....
>
> This is but a specific illustration of the observation that agency-generated statistics are likely to tell us little about phenomena they purport to reflect....(pp. 50-51)

Lipsky's observations duly noted, our point remains that meaningful appraisal of individual performance can only take place in the context of an organization where it is possible to manage performance. In order to manage itself, an organization needs to have some way of knowing when it is, or is not, performing "up to par". Without an explicit conception of what "par" is, attempts to manage that organization will founder, and so will the work of people throughout the organization.

Our research has not uncovered any indications of the existence of explicit corporate performance standards in the education system of Ontario. During the course of this study one suggestion for the reinstitution of system-wide student testing, which might have formed the basis for the development of such standards, was put forward publicly by the Premier and quickly denounced by representatives of the teaching profession, as well as by other stakeholder groups. We do not wish to get into the debate over whether or not, or how, such student scores could form the basis of corporate performance standards at this time. However, it must be noted that it is not clear to us whether or not the Ministry of Education or the school boards of Ontario have developed adequate standards against which to judge the overall effectiveness of these organizations, or the performance of individuals in these organizations.

These three basic and interdependent management tasks - the determination through time of an organization's purpose and goals, the strategic division of labour into subtasks and the development of mechanisms and processes for the co-ordination and control of subtasks, and the articulation of standards against which to measure corporate performance - are necessary and must be handled effectively if organizations and the people who work in them are to perform effectively.

Recommendation

1. Before the Ministry of Education can make decisions about what performance appraisal in education is to mean, the Ministry must make explicit decisions about what performance in education will mean. Thus, performance commitment must be negotiated between the Ministry and its major external clients and stakeholders. The performance commitment should reflect the performance expectations held by those major clients and stakeholders whose support is essential for the continuing viability and credibility of the education system at large.

2. In order to establish an effective performance commitment, it will be necessary for the Ministry to identify the major stakeholder groups and provide a forum through which their expectations can be made explicit. Expectations need to be made explicit with regard to:

    - the needs which the education system is expected to satisfy;
    - the outcomes which will satisfy these needs (i.e., performance criteria);
    - the standards of quality of these outcomes;
    - the mechanisms that will be used to assess organizational performance;
    - and expectations about the processes that should be employed in order to achieve these outcomes.

3. Before it enters into any performance commitment with external clients and stakeholders, the Ministry must have an understanding of what outcomes it can reasonably commit the education system to delivering. That understanding should be grounded in an understanding of the technologies of education.

4. Current practices in Ontario related to the development and applications of job descriptions in education organizations, and the job descriptions themselves, should be reviewed to ensure that these descriptions accurately reflect the accountabilities of each role.

5. Minimum criteria and standards for effective individual, unit, or division performance should be developed in a process which is kept separate from, and prior to, any effort to develop or implement any specific performance-appraisal system. These performance

criteria and standards should be clearly stated in writing, and should be well known to those who are expected to satisfy them.

3.3 Issues of Corporate Performance

It is important to distinguish between the performance of individuals and the overall performance of an organization, between standards of performance for individual workers and standards of performance for an organization as a whole. As an illustration of this point, consider the case of a local hospital which has been in the news recently. Essentially this hospital has publicly declared that it is unable to achieve its own corporate-performance standards: that is, providing high-quality health-care services for the local community. It would appear, from news accounts, that in this hospital high-quality health care means (among other things) that patients who come to the hospital needing emergency care can be cared for quickly, and that patients requiring surgery can have surgery scheduled and then carried out according to schedule. This hospital now finds that emergency patients cannot be served quickly enough, and that on numerous occasions planned surgery has had to be rescheduled at the last minute in order to cope with emergencies.

It is entirely conceivable that this hospital is staffed with dedicated, industrious, and honest employees, all doing their best work. Nevertheless, conditions beyond the control of the workers (i.e., underfunding, inadequate long-term planning, etc.) may have made it impossible for the hospital to meet the requirements of the community. Because the hospital is failing to meet their needs, its clients have become harsh critics of the care they receive there. They criticize the staff for being abrupt, or slow, or short-tempered. There is indeed a performance problem at that hospital, but the problem is one of corporate performance and not individual performance, thus the solution is unlikely to be an evaluation system for individual workers.

Drucker (1974) claims that making work productive and workers successful is a major responsibility of management. If, in fact, management can do this, then clearly management can do the opposite as well; that is, management can do things that will impede worker productivity and achievement. Consider, as an example, the experience of a marketing executive in a financial institution whose responsibility it was to develop and market investment products for individual investors. This individual was attempting to carry out this task in an organization that could not decide whether its market should be "upscale" affluent professionals, with incomes over $50 000 per year, or the mass market (i.e., anyone who walked through the door). This failure on the part of management, to make a strategic decision of purpose, made the marketing executive's task virtually impossible to perform. That performance problem would not have been solved by doing a performance appraisal of the marketing executive.

These anecdotal accounts are put forward to make a point: that is, it often happens that an organization becomes interested in performance appraisal when it is believed - for any one of a variety of reasons, and by any one of a number of internal or external stakeholders -

that the organization is not performing as it should. If there is any truth to this belief, the problem may derive from any of the following:

- The organization may have failed to appropriately identify the needs of its clients, and may either be providing goods or services which are no longer required, or not providing the goods or services that are required.
- The organization may be providing necessary goods or services but failing to meet established standards of quality for these.
- The organization may have correctly identified the goods or services it should be providing, but has not established appropriate quality standards for them.

The development and implementation of personnel evaluation systems may be an appropriate and effective response to one of these situations; it is not the correct or most effective response to all three.

If an organization is failing to provide the goods or services required by clients, then the organization must set about renegotiating the needs/services contract. Using performance appraisal to help do the wrong things better will gain the organization little. If the organization is, in fact, providing the right goods or services but failing to achieve established quality standards, then a performance-appraisal system may effectively be used to motivate and monitor performance. This will be the case only if the quality-standards issue is a function of substandard worker performance. If, however, some other aspect of operations (i.e., inadequate resources, poor strategies for the co-ordination of efforts, insufficient budgets for essential programs) is the source of the problem, personnel-performance appraisal will not be an appropriate solution.

Finally, if an organization has failed to establish appropriate performance standards in the first place, then neither the yardstick necessary for performance appraisal of individuals nor the organizational climate necessary for positive evaluation exist. Organizations in such circumstances must lay an adequate groundwork before building a performance-appraisal system that can be used to maintain desired levels of performance. Specifically, they must set about 1) establishing standards, 2) determining whether the resources and expertise needed to meet these standards are currently possessed by the organization, and 3) ensuring that workers have the skills, knowledge, attitudes, and resources needed to perform at the new level.

Management must act responsibly when setting standards for employees, by ensuring that the standards set are appropriate and reasonable. These standards must be informed by a sense of what is possible. Standards of performance for workers created without knowledge of whether or not they are achievable, or how they will be achieved, will inevitably have negative impact on worker morale and on organizational performance.

To act responsibly and effectively, management must also identify the "competencies" (i.e., skills, knowledge, and attitudes) which correlate with effective performance and must ensure that only "competent" workers are put in situations where they will be held accountable for satisfying the prescribed performance standards. In other words, management must act to ensure that workers are likely to be able to excel on the job. This end may be served in either one of two ways: 1) either organizations must hire only those individuals who can already demonstrate the appropriate competencies, or 2) they must provide adequate training and indoctrination on the job so that workers may acquire these competencies.

Educational policy makers considering the use of performance appraisal to address concerns about organizational performance thus must distinguish between situations where established performance standards are not being met and those in which no standards for performance exist. In the first case, it is most likely that a performance-appraisal system may be designed to fairly measure performance against existing standards operating in the organization. However, in the case of an education organization where no prescriptive behavioural norms or performance standards have been clearly articulated, and where personnel have neither been hired nor trained in order to ensure satisfactory performance relative to these standards, the development or implementation of a performance-appraisal system, which may be used to make decisions affecting the job status of employees, would likely be dysfunctionally premature.

Such an education organization might decide to develop or adopt standards for the purpose of the technological renewal of the system, and then develop a program of in-service teacher training and development based on the new standards. Only after personnel had been trained and reoriented to the new standards would it be appropriate to use those standards as a yardstick for measuring employee performance. This point is raised here because many of the efforts to establish performance-appraisal systems in schools appear to be, in reality, attempts to develop and impose new performance standards and/or a normative model of teaching. The simultaneous introduction of new standards requiring either new competencies or new attitudes, and an evaluation system that will judge performance against these standards, is likely to lead to dysfunctional and adversarial activities in an organization. This may, in fact, be at the root of much of the heat that is generated by the formative/summative, professional development/accountability debate. These issues are likely to become less contentious when an education organization has come to understand the competence required to achieve new performance standards, and when educational personnel have had ample opportunity to understand the standards and acquire the requisite skills.

The discussion above is necessitated by the fact that the development and implementation of personnel-evaluation systems in education, as well as in many other types of organizations, is often accompanied by unreasonable expectations. In educational jurisdictions across North America, school-board-management and teacher groups have recently been devoting considerable attention and resources to the development and implementation of systems for appraising the effectiveness of educational personnel. Many of these efforts appear to derive from the need to address a perceived crisis of confidence in education.

> Beleaguered teachers and administrators reminisce periodically about the halycon days when it was assumed that teachers taught and students learned, that completing high school was essential to occupational success and personal development and that college training prepared talented

> teachers who were prepared for the unexpected....But these assumptions are no longer widely believed, and the public is asking hard questions about the effects of schools and teaching. They want some evidence that the teachers who teach their children are competent professionals. (Natriello in Lewis, 1982: 7)

Performance appraisal is regarded by some as a potent remedy for corporate-performance problems. Like any medicine, judiciously prescribed and appropriately administered, performance appraisal can "treat" certain limited and specific organizational problems; conversely, the wrong prescription can do more harm than good. Some have suggested that any attempt to increase public confidence in education through the rigorous inspection of any of its parts, particularly its workers, could backfire and create a far more serious crisis in confidence.

> A state creates a rule that something called "history" must be taught in high schools. This demand is not inspected or examined by organizational procedures but is controlled through confidence in teachers. There is an incredible sequence of confidence here....The state has confidence in the district, the district in the school, and the school in the teacher. The teacher is deserving of confidence because an accrediting agency accredited the teacher's college. The accrediting agency did not, of course, inspect the instruction at the college, but relied on the certification of its teachers, having confidence in the universities which the teachers attended. The accrediting agency also has confidence in the organization of the college - its administrators and departments. These people in turn had confidence in their teachers, which enabled them to label certain courses as history without inspecting them. The chain goes on and on. Nowhere, except in the concealed relation between teacher and pupil, is there any inspection. Each link is a matter of multiple exchanges of confidence. (Meyer and Rowan 1978: 102-103)

Personnel performance-appraisal systems in education organizations provide the opportunity to subject the most basic educational confidence to scrutiny - namely, the confidence that there is a shared understanding of what constitutes effective teacher performance in the classroom. Meyer and Rowan (1978) suggest that when that confidence is exposed to light it becomes immediately apparent that shared understanding or standards in this area fall far short of consensus on what constitutes effective teaching practice.

Carlson and Park (1976) make this point about the education system:

> If one is considering implementing a teacher evaluation system or changing their present one, they should consider the forces which precipitated this change. Someone or some group(s) obviously determined that what exists is different from what should be. The source of this perception of discrepancy between desirable and actual could be:
>
> 1. A school board that doesn't like what they think is going on in the schools;

> 2. An administrator who perceives some low-quality teaching in his district;
>
> 3. A building principal who finds the students' scores on standardized tests are low and/or dropping;
>
> 4. Teachers feeling a need for professional development to improve the quality of instruction and make their jobs more rewarding;
>
> 5. Students feeling they are not getting the kind or amount of education they want from certain teachers;
>
> 6. Taxpayers wanting to increase the bang they get for their bucks;
>
> 7. Industry complaining that recent graduates entering the job market do not have the necessary skills for entry-level jobs;
>
> 8. Lay persons and parents concerned about what they hear about the schools;
>
> 9. Teachers feeling that the present evaluation system is outmoded and inequitable;
>
> 10. Administrators feeling the present evaluation system would hold no legal clout, particularly if they try to fire a teacher with it.
>
> At this point an educator should make sure he is not identifying a need for teacher evaluation just because a vocal minority is squeaking about some aspect of education....(T)he real need might be for public relations, or a community advisory council to help clarify what the public schools' goals are, or diversifying the curriculum to meet the needs of varying clients....(T)eaching is just one (though the central) component in an education system. Another error that can be made at this point is to assume a teacher evaluation is necessary when there is a more crucial need to evaluate the whole system. (p. 41)

When performance problems within an organization are perceived, those responsible for finding solutions must work hard at understanding the perception first. The possibility that the perception itself may be incorrect must be considered. The organization may, in fact, be delivering appropriate goods or services, and the standards of quality for those goods and services may be as high as possible in the obtaining circumstances. In such a case, the organization needs to set out to change and correct the perception directly. Performance appraisal would be an indirect, inefficient, and likely ineffective response. In contrast, the cost of a public/client relations program likely would cost significantly less, in dollars, than that of a performance-appraisal system. The cost in terms of the emotional well-being of employees would most certainly be less. Moreover, an effective public-relations activity would probably have an additional pay-off in performance terms, because employees' feelings of self-esteem and well-being would likely be enhanced by a more positive, public corporate image.

By this point it should be apparent that we do not subscribe to the notion that any personnel performance-appraisal system is better than no system at all, particularly in the education system and especially when faced with an organizational "performance problem" or confronted with the demand for corporate accountability. Rather, those who would consider prescribing performance appraisal for an ailing organization must ensure, first, that they have correctly diagnosed the problem at hand and then that performance appraisal is the most appropriate remedy. The right solution to the wrong problem will gain the organization little at best, and could create even more serious problems in the long term.

Recommendation

6. Every performance-appraisal system should be conceived as a specific mechanism designed and implemented in response to some specific organizational need or needs. The clear articulation of those needs should precede the decision to develop or implement a performance-appraisal system, as should a full consideration of the relative merits of alternative strategies for serving the needs which have been identified.

3.4 Summary

Performance appraisal cannot be treated as a discrete activity, disconnected from other management systems and processes. The management of an organization that intends to develop and/or implement a personnel performance-evaluation system for workers in the operating core (or for management workers) must have a broad understanding of the organizational context in which work takes place before it deals with evaluation issues. Management must examine, understand, and evaluate its own role, responsibilities, and contribution to the performance of the enterprise. It must understand the culture of the organization, as well as the nature of the work of the organization. It must have a clear sense of what the results of its own work are to be and have standards for judging those results, as well as the results of the work of others in the organization. Management cannot delegate or slough off these critical tasks. Only by setting standards for, and managing, its own performance and that of the whole organization will management be able to handle the important tasks of setting standards for, and managing, the performance of others.

Three basic management tasks, prerequisite to effective performance appraisal have been briefly discussed. A somewhat more elaborated version of these basic aspects of performance management is presented in point form in figures 1 and 2.

The various activities normally associated with performance appraisal occur primarily in the areas designated as "Staff", "Direct", "Evaluate", and "Consequential Actions", while the orientation of the worker to organizational expectations about performance is found under "Staff". The main point of this chapter is that the success or failure of these performance-appraisal activities will depend largely on how well or how badly the organization has carried out critical tasks in the planning and organizing phases of performance management.

Figure 1: Performance Management A

Plan

- mission & purpose
- strategy & objectives
- corporate performance standards
- policies & procedures
- resource allocation

Consequential Actions

- rewards
- planning
- development
- corrective action

Organize

- organization structure
- work design
- management systems
- co-ordinating mechanisms
- position descriptions
- skill requirements

Evaluate

- evaluation and performance standards
- assessment and analysis

Staff

- selection
- orientation
- probation
- training

Direct

- development
- performance standards
- development
- motivation
- co-ordination
- monitoring and problem solving
- coaching

Figure 2: Performance Management 8

PLAN

- develop/review organization purpose and mission
- develop strategy and objectives required to achieve organization purpose
- establish standards for corporate performance
- develop operational plans to implement strategy and achieve objectives
- develop policies to cover important recurring issues
- allocate resources

ORGANIZE

- develop organization structure
- design work
- develop co-ordinating mechanisms to maintain important internal and external relationships
- develop management systems and processes to control organization performance
- develop position descriptions to establish job scope, relationships, responsibilities, and authority
- define qualifications of skill, knowledge, and attitudes required for job performance

STAFF

- recruit (external) and select (internal) in accordance with job-qualification requirements
- establish and manage indoctrination/probationary period
- provide orientation & policies, procedures, and corporate-performance standards
- provide training through instruction and practice

DIRECT

- delegate and assign responsibilities consistent with requirements of position description
- establish performance standards (prescribed and negotiated) and evaluation methodologies
- provide for development skills and knowledge as required
- motivate, persuade, and inspire desired action
- ensure that co-ordination between tasks occurs
- manage differences and conflict
- monitor work in progress for compliance with performance standards and solve problems as required: coaching, counselling, modifying work plans

EVALUATE

- assess and analyse results of work and their conformity to performance standards
- determine reasons for deviations

CONSEQUENTIAL ACTIONS

- reward: praise, remunerate, recommend for promotion or new assignment
- plan for future work and personal development
- take corrective action: modify work plans, allocate additional resources, modify procedures, counsel, train, discipline, terminate

How well or badly those tasks are performed, in turn, will be conditioned by the ability of the organization to answer questions such as the following:

- Have we correctly understood the purpose for which our organization exists, and have we articulated our purpose in such a way that others, both inside and outside the organization, can understand?
- Have we provided the means by which stakeholders may articulate and negotiate their expectations regarding corporate and individual performance?
- Do we understand, and have we made explicit, what the results of our work should he, so that we know how well the organization is doing?
- Do we understand the nature of the work by which we provide our goods and/or services, and do we manage this work appropriately?
- Do we understand the work done in this organization well enough to help workers excel in its performance?
- Do we understand, and have we articulated, our expectations about the work done in this organization, and do we provide feedback so that workers can regulate themselves and know how well they are doing?
- Have we structured our organization in such a way as to facilitate rather than impede co-operation between various subunits and subtasks?

These questions are not a definitive list; they are a sample of questions that those responsible for organizational performance must ask before they begin to ask questions that relate more specifically to personnel-performance appraisal. Performance-appraisal systems that are designed and implemented without consideration being given to these more fundamental questions are unlikely to succeed, as are performance-appraisal systems that attempt to compensate for deficient or malfunctioning management systems.

Recommendation

7. The identification of purposes, criteria, and methodologies for a performance-appraisal system must be made in light of a broad understanding of all the strategies and processes employed to manage performance in the organization.

8. The identification of purpose for a performance-appraisal system should take into account the specific operating context of the organization at a particular time. Operating context should be understood to mean the unique challenges and opportunities faced by the organization at a given time, as well as the educational goals, management style, conception of work, and community values which shape the organization.

4.0 Conceptions of Work and the Implications for Management Strategies

4.1 Introduction

Whether the appraisal of work is systematic or informal, done by the worker or by others, it is, nevertheless, absolutely critical to be certain that one is looking at the right thing when "taking a look" at performance. What actually constitutes the "right thing" is determined by two factors: the first is the nature of the work in question; the second is the reason for taking a look.

The first and most important reason for taking a look at performance in any organization is to ensure that what is supposed to be happening is actually happening; that is, to ensure that the work is satisfying the purpose for which it exists. Thus organizations develop mechanisms that allow them to make this judgement. Such mechanisms will have three aspects:

- First, they will incorporate standards of expected performance that have been established.
- Second, they will permit the collection of information about performance which will make it possible to compare actual performance with these standards.
- Third, this information will be used to inform judgements about the type and level of supervisory intervention and other support required to bring about optimal performance.

The need to monitor and control performance may represent an "appraisal" requirement common to all effective organizations; however, not all organizations will standardize and systematize the monitoring and controlling tasks through the application of a single or formal performance-appraisal system. Instead, monitoring and control may be seen as a basic management responsibility, the means of which are left to the discretion of individual managers as long as it is believed that they "know" their workers and that their workers are staying "on course".

The question of primary significance here is not how to standardize monitoring and control (that question is addressed in chapter 6 of this report). The question is: What does a manager need to know about the performance of a worker in his or her unit or organization, in order to ensure that the worker is on course? The answer is: It depends. And what it depends on firstly is the nature of the work (not the worker) under consideration.

The management tasks described by Porter, Lawler, and Hackman (1975) as "the differentiation of functions and positions and the deliberate, conscious, intendedly rational, planful attempts to co-ordinate and direct activities" are especially critical prerequisites to effective monitoring, control, and appraisal practices. The division of labour requires some conception of the nature of the work that needs to be done. What a supervisor or manager looks at in order to monitor and control the work of subordinates, or what a worker looks at in order to regulate his or her own work, should be primarily determined by the nature of the work involved, although this is not always the practice. When the focus of supervision is not determined by the nature of the work in question, a supervisor may waste time attending to features of performance that are essentially irrelevant to the requirements of the task and the interests of the organization, and the worker himself or herself may lose sight of the raison d'être of the work at hand.

Webster provides this definition of work:

> verb. To get (oneself or an object) into or out of a condition or position by gradual stages; to exert oneself physically or mentally, especially in sustained effort, for a purpose; to produce a desired effect or result.

Work is an intentional activity; something beyond work for its own sake is intended - whether one calls that a predetermined goal, an objective, a result, or a desired effect.

Five essentially discrete, yet highly interrelated, activities are essential to the performance of work:

- an assessment of need;
- the determination of a work outcome that will satisfy that need;
- the development of a work plan that will achieve the desired outcome;
- the implementation of the work plan; and
- an evaluation of the outcome actually achieved in relation to the intended outcome.

While these five elements are critical to all work, not every job or unit within an organization incorporates responsibility for all five activities. Instead, many organizations design jobs and units so that the worker or unit is responsible for only one or a few of these elements. An automobile manufacturer, for example, will assign each of the five elements to different individuals or distinct units within the organization. Thus market analysis, product design, process engineering, manufacturing, and quality control are all subtasks of the overall work of the organization and are assigned to separate units. In contrast, in some jobs, workers or units are accountable for all five elements. Consider, for instance, the auto mechanic who is required: first, to determine why a car is malfunctioning; then to establish a work outcome appropriate to the problem; then to develop and implement a work plan; and, finally, to road-test the car to ensure that it functions properly.

A useful way of thinking about how these elements of work are incorporated in specific jobs can be derived from Galbraith's (1973) concept of "task uncertainty". Task uncertainty refers to the difference between the amount of information required to perform the overall task and the amount of information already possessed by the organization. The greater the degree of task uncertainty, the greater the amount of information that must be processed during task performance. Tasks may be uncertain either with respect to the ends they are expected to serve, or with respect to the means by which those ends will be achieved. Ends will be uncertain when it is not possible, in precise terms, to determine what the outcome of a particular task will be; when task outcomes are not amenable to measurement or quantification; or when it is difficult or impossible to establish standards for performance. Means will be uncertain when it is not possible to determine, prior to task performance, exactly how the task should be carried out; when the work technology is not sufficiently mature to ensure that desired results are achievable; or when there is a shortage of necessary resources.

The basic effect of task uncertainty is to limit an organization's ability to preplan. In general, where task uncertainty is low, management may retain a high degree of control over the first three elements of work (assessment of need, determination of appropriate outcomes, and the development of work plans); conversely, where task uncertainty is high, individual workers are increasingly likely to retain responsibility for those elements. The present chapter examines the implications of designing jobs to incorporate all, some, or only one of the elements of work for the management of performance.

4.2 Discretion as a Critical Variable in Jobs

Two factors are especially critical to an understanding of the differing requirements of specific work assignments: the extent to which the worker is required to exercise discretion when determining the intended results of his or her work; and the extent to which he or she has freedom to choose how to accomplish those results. The extent to which a given task requires that a worker exercise discretion about the means or ends of his or her own performance carries major implications for the management of that performance, and subsequently for the appraisal of that work.

Because the concept of discretion is so critical to the discussion that will follow, it is important to clarify at the outset what we mean when we use the term. Discretion is not to be taken to mean unconstrained freedom. Nor is it conceived of as an all-or-none condition. Rather, discretion is a relative concept; workers will be more or less restrained by organizationally prescribed rules, policies, and procedures, or by the normative practices of their occupational group. When an organization requires workers to function with a significant degree of autonomy and discretion about either the means or the ends of their work, they will be expected and required to exercise that discretion judiciously. Thus it is incumbent upon organizations to ensure that the parameters of "judicious" choice are understood, both by the organization and by the worker.

It cannot be assumed that workers accorded the freedom to exercise discretion will automatically be able to make judicious choices, so this ability must be intentionally developed and systematically reinforced. The development of judicious discretion is achieved through three activities: training, socialization, and indoctrination. Training is undertaken for the purpose of providing the worker with the skills and knowledge necessary for recognizing and dealing with task contingencies; socialization for the purpose of orienting the workers to the behavioural norms and values of the organization (i.e., "the way things are done around here"); and indoctrination for the purpose of directing workers towards work outcomes preferred by the organization.

Taken together, training, socialization, and indoctrination should increase the likelihood that the worker will select outcomes that are essential for effective corporate performance and will work towards them in efficient and organizationally appropriate ways. Two conditions must be satisfied if training, socialization, and indoctrination are to effectively elicit the behaviours required for the judicious exercise of discretion. First, the skills provided through training must be seen by workers as correlating with improved performance; their acquisition must seem worthwhile in light of the increased satisfaction that will result from more effective performance. Training programs aimed at the development of skills that are perceived by workers to make no appreciable difference to performance can quickly demoralize them. Second, organizational goals must be sufficiently well developed and understood so that they can be internalized by workers and lead them to organizationally favoured goals in specific task situations. Satisfaction will derive from the achievement of goals which the workers have internalized.

It is important to acknowledge that the "telling" and "knowing" of training, socialization, and indoctrination are insufficient, in and of themselves, to ensure that discretion will be exercised appropriately. Organizations must also ensure that reward systems are compatible with the degree of discretion necessary for the effective performance of work. While it is outside the scope of the current project to examine the complex question of reward management, it needs to be said that as jobs require increasing discretion, they also demand higher-order behaviours of workers. That is, jobs that include all of the elements of work - assessment of need, objective setting, planning, implementing, and evaluating - require higher-order task behaviours, such as innovation, problem solving, adaptation, and collaboration. In order to elicit these higher-order behaviours, organizations must ensure that appropriate extrinsic and intrinsic rewards are in place.

4.3 A Model of the Nature of Work

Clearly, the development of judiciously exercised discretion is no easy task. Thus, many organizations, where possible, design work is such a way as to minimize, if not eliminate, the need for discretion. They standardize operations, promulgate rules, develop policies, and generally codify behaviour. For example,

> in order to make ambulance dispatch by untrained personnel more efficient, health planners work to rationalize emergency dispatch procedures by developing a programmed format to aid in identifying health emergencies ....(Lipsky 1980: 16)

However, the routinization of work is not always possible. This is particularly true when work takes place in complex and unstable environments; such environments preclude the possibility of predicting all the alternative circumstances that may be encountered by the worker. This is also true where the worker is expected to respond "to the human dimensions of situations" (Lipsky, 1980). Certain tasks call for

> human judgement that cannot be programmed and for which machines cannot substitute. (Some workers)...have responsibility for making unique and fully appropriate responses to individual clients and their situations. It is the nature of what we call human services that the unique aspects of people and their situations will be apprehended by public service workers and translated into courses of action responsive to each case within (more or less broad) limits imposed by their agencies. They will not, in fact, dispose of every case in unique fashion. The limitations on possible responses are often circumscribed....However, (these workers)...still have the responsibility at least to be open to the possibility that each client presents special circumstances and opportunities that may require fresh thinking and flexible action. (p. 161)

For heuristic purposes we describe below three types of work which, on the surface, have a number of apparent similarities, but are different in some significant ways. These differences are most importantly a function of the degree to which workers are expected, and required, to exercise discretion about the means or ends of their performance on the job. From these types, we will develop a conceptual model for describing the nature of work, which will in turn lead to implications for organizations and management, and ultimately to implications for performance appraisal.

Our model is intended to facilitate discussions among stakeholders regarding their understanding of the essential nature of a given job. Note that we are primarily concerned here with the "essential" or basic nature of a given job and not with the nature of specific tasks within a job. This distinction is important because we take the position that every job must be understood to be something more than the sum total of all the tasks of which it is comprised. For example, while aspects of a physician's work may be highly routinized (i.e., standard operating procedures for an appendectomy), the physician's overall responsibility is to determine in the first place whether or not any medical intervention is appropriate, and then, if so, what the intervention should be. The job of the physician is something more than a collection of routine procedures.

While the degree of worker discretion required to perform any of a number of tasks comprising a given job will vary from task to task, strategies for job design and performance management need to be sensitive to the overall requirement for worker discretion that derives from the basic purpose of the job itself. Moreover, we suggest that effective organizations will create and define roles and devise and implement management strategies in light of an accurate and explicit understanding of the essential nature of the basic work of the enterprise.

It should be possible to determine whether the essential nature of any given job most closely resembles one or another of the three types of work put forward in the model below. Taken at this level of whole-job analysis, the model will encourage readers to make judgements about whether or not currently employed management strategies are appropriate for specific jobs. The model may also be used to examine the nature of distinct tasks or areas of responsibility within a job, and to assess how specific management strategies might be most appropriately applied to specific aspects of a worker's assignment. However, considerations of this sort are not germane to the purpose of the present chapter.

Consider the following:

- the task of a bus driver whose job it is to drive the Bay Street bus from Davenport Avenue to Front Street following a prescribed route and timetable;
- the task of an airport-limousine driver whose job it is to take a fare from the Royal York Hotel to Pearson International Airport in 45 minutes when the Gardiner Expressway is impassable; and
- the task of a taxi drive whose fare wants to be "shown a good time".

Our examination of these three work assignments will focus on the intended results of the work, the means appropriate for achieving these results, and the discretion required of each worker with respect to these means and ends.

In the case of the bus driver, little discretion or judgement is required in the performance of the work with respect to either means or ends. Some person other than the driver has determined both; the beginning and end of the route have been established, the route for connecting these points has been prescribed, and the stops along the way have been predetermined. Someone other than the driver has also established the time to be taken to cover the route. The bus driver is required to exercise skill and caution in operating the bus, extend common courtesy to passengers, and pay attention to the time schedule. Assuming that the driver knows how to operate the vehicle, that he or she consistently performs the work as it has been prescribed, and that he or she is careful not to get into accidents, the bus will operate in exactly the way it is supposed to do and will provide the services it was designed to provide.

Nonetheless, passengers may feel that their transportation needs are not being satisfied. Equipment that is old or poorly maintained may break down frequently. Construction on the roads may impede the traffic flow. The bus schedule may be inconvenient, or the route may no longer serve passengers' needs. These problems lie beyond the control of the bus driver.

In the case of the airport-limousine driver, no discretion is required with respect to the results of work - Pearson International Airport in 45 minutes - but a considerable degree of judgement and decision making is required with respect to means, that is how to achieve that result when confronted with an impassable Gardiner Expressway. The competent and experienced driver will not only have a number of alternative routes in mind, but will be capable of improvising a completely new one should the alternate routes be impassable as well. In making the "how" decision, the driver will be constrained by his or her own assessment of what constitutes reasonable care, the physical and mental well-being of the passenger, and the rules of the road (maybe).

For the taxi driver who has been asked to show a passenger a "good time", the matter is quite different, both with respect to the expected results of the work and how they are to be achieved. Considerable discretion will be required. It will be necessary to get some sense of what a "good time" means for this particular passenger. This will involve some amount of guesswork, based on verbal and non-verbal cues, and the careful posing of questions about what will satisfy the passenger. Eventually an agreement between taxi driver and passenger about what will constitute a "good time" will be reached. With this accomplished, it will be necessary for the driver to then decide how to achieve the intended results. Whereas the limousine driver can rely on past experience to find a solution to the impassable Gardiner when the destination is the airport, the taxi driver will be less able to rely on precedents in solving the problem which has been presented. The driver will need to exercise considerable judgement about the means to the end. It is important to note, however, that the cab driver will still be constrained to some extent by a sense of what is ethical, legal, and possible. Not just any means will do.

The three types of work thus far presented may be summarized as follows:

	Ends	Means
Bus Driver	no discretion	no discretion
Limousine Driver	no discretion	discretion
Taxi Driver	discretion	discretion

Alternatively, the responsibilities associated with these three jobs may also be depicted in the following manner:

	Assess Need	Set Objectives	Plan	Implement	Evaluate
Bus Driver	No	No	No	Yes	No
Limousine Driver	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Taxi Driver	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Neither the bus driver nor the limousine driver has any part in determining the intended results of their work. In both cases the intended results are specified in the clearest possible terms, and, more importantly, someone other than the worker has decided what those results are to be. The bus driver and limousine driver differ in that the limousine driver is allowed - in fact, is required - to exercise discretion in determining how to achieve the results. The bus driver, on the other hand, is not only told what to do, but also how to do it. The work of the bus driver, therefore, is highly prescribed with respect to both means and ends. The work of the taxi driver, as described here, has involved the driver both in negotiations about what the results of the work should be and in the exercise of discretion about how to achieve those results.

These three examples of work, differing as they do with respect to worker discretion related to the determination of appropriate ends and worker discretion regarding means, provide the background for the development of a model describing the nature of work which follows. It is important, at this point, to reiterate why it is necessary to examine the nature of work when the primary focus of this research is to be performance-appraisal practices. To repeat the point made earlier, it is our position that, to a major extent, the nature of a given work task should determine how that work is managed. How work is managed, in turn, constrains what is reasonable and possible regarding applications of performance-appraisal systems in the workplace.

The following labelling conventions have been adopted and will be used in subsequent discussions of the three different types of work included in the present model:

Where D stands for worker discretion required, - stands for little or no discretion, and + stands for considerable or total discretion:

		Ends	Means
Type 1	D	-	-
Type 2	D	-	+
Type 3	D	+	+

Readers are cautioned to bear in mind that the model is not intended to suggest that one type of work is better than another; rather it is meant only to illuminate the fact that there are significant differences between jobs related to the need for discretion, and that these differences bear significant implications for performance management.

4.4 Type 1/D - - :
Ends and Means Prescribed

The design of some types of work can begin with the certain expectation that similar results will be required in a recurring and invariable fashion, that the situations in which the work to achieve those results will be carried out will be highly predictable or controllable, and that there is one most effective or appropriate way to do the work. For work of this sort, both the work processes required for producing results and the results themselves will be specified and possibly standardized: 1. People will want to use public transportation to get from one point to another on Bay Street, so a bus route will be established to travel between those points, and a driver will be assigned to the route; 2. people will want to deposit money into or withdraw money from their bank accounts, so procedures for handling deposits and withdrawals will be designed, and all tellers will be expected to follow these procedures; 3. people will want to purchase airline tickets, so a procedure for issuing tickets will be designed and all ticket clerks will be taught how to carry out the task. The specification and standardization of both work processes and results allow some organizations to ensure that work is done as efficiently as possible.

Rowbottom and Billis (1977) suggest that, for this type of work activity, the individual is working towards objectives which can be completely specified (as far as is significant) beforehand, according to defined circumstances which may present themselves. The worker is not expected to make any significant judgements on what output to aim for, or under what circumstances to aim for it.

Galbraith (1977) makes this point:

> All organizations employ rules or procedures which are simply decisions made in advance of their execution. That is, to the extent that decisions are repetitive, a procedure is worked out in advance of encountering the situation. The virtue of such rules is that they eliminate the need for communication between interdependent parties and between superior and subordinate. In order to make effective use of programs, the organization's employees are taught the job-related situations with which they will be faced and the behaviours appropriate to those situations....The overall effect is to move repetitive decisions to lower levels of the organization. This movement to lower levels has been described as decentralization. However, it should be noted that there is little decentralization of discretion. Whether workers are guided by a superior's directive made in real-time, or in advance, they are still guided by a directive from a superior. (p. 43)

What is important to note about this kind of work is that the worker has relatively little freedom to act and limited responsibility for results. In some situations where such work is performed, the worker may be required to determine which of the several situations for which he or she has been trained obtains: Does the client want to make a deposit or withdrawal? Is this airline-ticket purchase a cash or credit transaction? In many instances of this type of work, however, even such limited discretion is not required. Consider for example assembly-line work in which the same operation is repeated over and over again.

As dehumanizing as this type of work may be thought to be, it is an efficient means of producing certain kinds of work results.

> A machine is certainly precise; it is also reliable and easy to control; and it is efficient - at least when restricted to the job it has been required to do. These are the reasons many organizations are structured as Machine Bureaucracies....No structure is better suited to mass production and consistent output, none can more efficiently regulate work....When an integrated set of simple, repetitive tasks must be performed precisely and consistently by human beings, the Machine Bureaucracy is the most efficient structure - indeed, the only conceivable one. (Mintzberg 1983: 176)

To summarize, work of this type, carried out in stable and predictable environments, is highly engineered; both its outputs and the means for achieving them can be specified and sometimes standardized. In organizations whose principle goods and services are produced and delivered in this way (i.e., organizations which Mintzberg (1983) refers to as Machine Bureaucracies), the responsibility for ensuring that the intended results of work are actually achieved and satisfy corporate standards, rests largely with those who engineer the work: that is, the workers of what has been described as the "technostructure". These workers of the technostructure are in the business of standardizing: "work-study analysts (such as industrial engineers), who standardize work processes; planning and control analysts (such as long-range planners, quality-control engineers, production schedulers, and accountants), who standardize outputs; and personnel analysts (including trainers and recruiters), who standardize skills...." (Mintzberg 1983: 15-16)

Where everything has been done "by the book", the authors of "the book" are held accountable for organizational performance.[1] The operating core or line worker's responsibility in this situation is, to put it simply, to follow orders. Little or no judgement or discretion is required for the performance of the task. Providing that workers "follow the book" they have fulfilled their part of the employment contract.

Management monitoring and control of this type of work is a relatively simple matter and can be done in one of two ways. The first is rather passive, and is a kind of "no news is good news" approach. If there are no disruptions, one can assume that workers are doing what they are supposed to be doing. If a disruption occurs, one simply tracks it down and decides whether it is the worker who is at fault (not following the directions) or whether there has been a design or engineering failure in the system. A second approach is more active: one goes out and looks to see whether or not people are doing what they are supposed to be doing. Their performance is checked against the "book". The similarities to machine maintenance are striking: one either waits for it to malfunction and then repairs it, or one does preventative maintenance by periodically inspecting it.

---

[1] How many times, having been frustrated by the apparent inefficiency of a large bureaucracy and having taken out that frustration on the worker across the desk or counter, have we been told that the person was simply doing what "they" had told him or her to do. "Sorry - this is the way things are done around here." We know, don't we, that our quarrel really ought to be taken up with "them". Often problems in this type of bureaucratic environment might be solved if the worker were to exercise discretion; however, were they to do so, they would have to step outside of their designated role or responsibility.

The classical organization theorists, who lauded the efficiency of this type of engineered work and workplace, were primarily concerned with the operations of large manufacturing bureaucracies in the first half of this century. However, the principles which they enunciated, particularly those related to the division of labour, have had considerable impact on the design of the large, bureaucratic service organizations of our day, as well.

4.5 Type 2/D - +:
Ends Prescribed, Means Discretionary

There is another type of work where intended results or predetermined goals can be stated in specific and usually quantifiable terms (i.e., Pearson International Airport in 45 minutes; a sales objective of a five-percent increase in market share over two years; putting a human on the moon), but the work must be carried out in situations that are somewhat unfamiliar and not entirely predictable. With this type of work it is frequently not possible to predetermine or prescribe the work processes required for the achievement of the desired results, often because there is no consensus about what would constitute the "best way" to achieve results, and also because any ideal means must be adopted and adjusted according to the obtaining circumstances.

Facing a well-drawn target, the worker must decide how to take aim. He or she begins by assessing the situation. While some elements of the situation may seem familiar because they resemble situations previously encountered, other elements will be entirely new. Thus, the configuration as a whole will be sufficiently unique so that it can be considered a new situation.

This type of work "requires the ability to imagine...what requires to be done, to picture it in the mind's eye, and in imagination also to work out and prepare plans and methods for overcoming problems" (Jacques 1977: 45). The limousine driver has to imagine alternative routes to the airport when the Gardiner Expressway is blocked, and those alternatives must be assessed in light of the obtaining circumstances: some must be eliminated because they would take longer than 45 minutes; others must be eliminated only if it is rush hour. The sales manager and the NASA project director will both have to take into account a much larger number of variables before they can make operational plans.

Work that cannot be performed or controlled through the application of specified or highly standardized procedures, practices, and work processes can be and commonly is, managed within an organization by assigning the work with reference to clearly articulated expectations about results. Workers are given the authority they require to make decisions related to work processes and are held accountable for their accomplishments. Thus, the organization must have confidence both in the D - + worker's skills and in his or her ability to exercise discretion about the means of work in a manner consistent with the goals and values of the organization. Selection of workers for D - + assignments will therefore be based on an assessment of their job-relevant skills, knowledge, and attitudes, in an effort to increase the probability that they will exercise sound judgement and that their accomplishments will be satisfactory.

Where the time span between assigning a task and accomplishing results is relatively short, management control may consist simply of monitoring final results to ensure that targets are being met consistently. Where the results of an individual's work may take a long time to be realized (for example, the moon-landing project), workers may be expected to develop complex plans and submit these to management for support and approval. These plans usually indicate a sequence of activities designed to achieve shorter-term results which, in turn, are deemed to be feasible and sensible steps towards the achievement of the ultimate or long-term goal. In situations such as these, work in progress may be monitored and controlled by ensuring that the intermediary results are achieved.

The control and co-ordination of performance through the assignment and assessment of results raises two significant issues for management. First, it is important to make a distinction between D - + work for which precedent exists and that for which there is little or no precedent: in other words, D - + work which aims at objectives which are established with the reasonably certain expectation that they can be achieved, and D - + work which is undertaken in response to a challenge. Getting to Pearson International Airport from downtown Toronto in 45 minutes is an example of the former; putting a human on the moon within a decade, or saving Chrysler from bankruptcy within five years are examples of the latter. Where the core work of an organization is controlled and co-ordinated by standardizing or prescribing results, that management process will be better served where work is directed towards "objectives" rather than "challenges". Too many management-by-objectives (MBO) systems become demoralized because "objectives" are established without any regard for whether the requisite technology, resources, or worker skills are available to achieve them. Management has a responsibility for setting standards of work performance that will encourage workers to excel; however, objectives must not be set without any idea about how they are to be achieved. Setting unreasonable or impractical objectives may, in the short term, create the appearance of leadership, but in the medium and long term this is an irresponsible and demotivating course, highly unlikely to move an organization towards greater effectiveness.

Because the results of work are a prime focus of management on this sort of work, it is frequently charged that, in such organizations, management shows no concern for how results are achieved; that "great results" can be used to justify any means. The question of real significance here, then, is: What does an organization really mean when it says that workers are free to choose whatever means are appropriate for the achievement of the prescribed results? Levinson (1976) gives an example which is instructive:

> A corporate president put a senior executive in charge of a failing operation. His only directive was, "Get it in the

> black." Within two years of that injunction, the new executive moved the operation from a deficit position to one that showed a profit of several million. Fresh from his triumph, the executive announced himself a candidate for a higher level position, and indicated that he was already receiving offers from other companies.
>
> The corporate president, however, did not share the executive's positive opinions of his behaviour. In fact, the president was not at all pleased with the way the executive had handled things. Naturally the executive was dismayed, and when asked what he had done wrong, the corporate president told him that he had indeed accomplished what he had been asked to do, but he had done it singlehandedly, by sheer force of his own personality. Furthermore, the executive was told he had replaced people whom the company thought to be good employees with those it regarded as compliant. In effect, by demonstrating his own strength, he had made the organization weaker. Until the executive changed his authoritarian manner, his boss said, it was unlikely that he would be promoted further. (p. 30)

It is essential, therefore, when thinking about workers who are expected to exercise discretion about means and are held accountable for results, to keep in mind that organizations do care about how things are done and not only the results. In this respect, organizations are very much like people: they often mean more than they say. Some means simply will not do. Management must, to the greatest extent possible, make these restrictions on worker discretion explicit.

In summary, D - + type work is most appropriately managed by assigning workers responsibility for achieving certain specific, and often measurable, results; by comparing the actual results of work (be these short- or long-term) with those which were intended, and by taking appropriate actions in order to remedy any undesired discrepancies between the expected results and the actual results. The means of achievement are left, more or less, to the discretion of the worker. Worker discretion and judgement about means are indispensable for the achievement of the prescribed results. For this reason, organizations will take care to hire D - + workers who appear to have the skills, knowledge, and attitudes that will increase the probability that discretion will be exercised soundly.

4.6 Type 3/D + + :
Ends and Means Discretionary

Up to this point all the work that has been examined began with a clear statement of need - in other words, work for which it was possible to predetermine and specify results. In one case, the worker was instructed in the means necessary to achieve the results; in the other, the worker was left relatively free to determine what means would be appropriate. In the model presently being proposed, there is a third and final type of work to be considered: work that must begin without absolute clarity about what problem the work is intended to solve, or what need it will serve.

In work of this type the worker is often presented with a general and often ambiguous statement of a problem that needs to be addressed. In these situations the worker generally has to deal with needs that are presented as a set of symptoms; his or her first task is to get below the symptoms in order to identify the underlying need. Rowbottom and Billis (1977), focusing on the interpretative content of the work of such professionals as social workers in dealing with clients, note that such workers cannot simply or directly deal in concrete terms with things as presented to them. Rather, they must use their expertise and imaginations to formulate an understanding of the underlying needs. Whereas, in the previous examples, workers began with a clear understanding of the problems to be solved, here the worker must begin by discovering the real question. In the example given earlier, the taxi driver had to discover what "a good time" meant to the passenger/client before beginning to satisfy the need.

Only after the worker has made a diagnosis of the problem to be solved by his or her work, can he or she decide what would constitute appropriate, possible, and likely results of work, and what the processes of that work should be (the workplan). Thus, the worker's response must be highly situational. He or she must decide the special characteristics of this particular need. What will be a reasonable outcome of work in the obtaining circumstances? By what means can this unique set of results be achieved?

For some work of this sort, diagnosis or need assessment may constitute the most demanding part of the work, with the execution of a solution being relatively straightfoward; for others, the opposite may be true. The role of the client, either passive or active, is a significant factor in comparing various types of work. To see this, one need only compare the task of the dentist who has diagnosed that his patient is suffering from impacted wisdom teeth, on the one hand, with that of the psychotherapist who has diagnosed that his patient suffers from manic depression, on the other; or the task of a surgeon with an anaesthetised patient on the operating table, with that of the management consultant with a fully awake and strong-willed chief executive officer sitting in his office. While it is possible to conceive of the use of relatively standardized procedures for the performance of the dental and surgical tasks, the application of standardized procedures in the dynamic interaction which occurs between psychotherapist and patient, or consultant and client, is somewhat more problematic. Despite these variations, however, the work is similar in that it begins with an act of assessment of need, and then proceeds from the development of a workplan to the execution of that plan, all of which are largely under the control of the worker, or shared between the worker and his or her client.

It is both possible and necessary for organizations to exercise control over work, even where neither the means nor the ends of that work can be prescribed. Indeed, such control is critical if those who are accountable for the overall performance of the organization are to ensure that standards of performance are met. However, requirements for performance control of D + + work are much more complex and at the same time necessarily less precise than for either D - - work or D - + work.

> Measures of performance quality are elusive for reasons analogous to the difficulty in circumscribing the (D + + worker's)...discretion. If clients presenting cases should be treated as if they might present unique situations, then it is impossible to reduce responses to sets of appropriate and previously indicated reactions. To put it another way, the more (D + + workers)...are supposed to act with discretion, and the broader the areas of discretionary treatment, the more difficult it is to develop performance measures. If we are not agreed as to what comprises good teaching (and thus cannot prescribe means or ends), how can we measure it?...If every client should be treated as if he or she may require responses tailored to the individual, how can we specify the requirements of good (intervention with that client)? (Lipsky 1980: 168)

The question, therefore, is not whether management is responsible for controlling D + + worker performance, but rather how that responsibility is to be exercised.

Galbraith (1977) describes the problem and proposes the following management strategy as a solution:

> As task uncertainty increases, the volume of information from the points of action to points of decision-making overload the hierarchy. In this situation it becomes more efficient to bring the points of decision down to the points of action where the information exists. This can be accomplished by increasing the amount of discretion exercised by employees at lower levels of the organization. However, as the amount of discretion exercised by employees at lower levels of the organization is increased, the organization faces a potential behaviour control problem. That is, how can the organization be sure that employees will consistently choose the appropriate response to the job-related situations with which they will be faced?
>
> In order to increase the probability that employees will select the appropriate behaviour, organizations make (this) response to deal with the cognitive portion of the control problem. The...change involves the substitution of craft or professional training of the workforce for the detailed centralized programming of the work processes....The shift to craft or professional workers represents a shift to control based on selection of responsible workers. Workers who have the appropriate skills and attitudes are selected. (p. 45)

Mintzberg (1983) makes a similar point:

> Sometimes neither the work nor its outputs can be standardized, yet co-ordination by standardization may still be required. The solution...is to standardize the worker who comes to the work, if not the work itself or its outputs. Skills (and knowledge) are standardized when the kind of training required to perform the work is specified...so standardization of skills achieves indirectly what standardization of work processes or of work outputs does directly: it controls and co-ordinates the work. (p. 6)

Mintzberg outlines the standardization process in relation to the professional worker as follows:

> The initial training typically takes place over a period of years in a university or special institution. Here the skills and knowledge of the profession are formally programmed into the would-be professional. But in many cases, that is only the first step, even if the most important one. There typically follows a long period of on-the-job training such as internship in medicine and articling in law. Here the formal knowledge is applied and the practice of the skills perfected, under close supervision of members of the profession.
>
> On-the-job training also completes the process of indoctrination, which began during the formal teaching. Once this process is completed, the professional association typically examines the trainee to determine whether he has the requisite knowledge, skills,...to enter the profession. (p. 191)

Mintzberg labels those organizations which are characterized by this type of work as "Professional Bureaucracies". He suggests that these are organizations where the core work is performed by professional workers, and he uses school systems as "classic" examples of such organizations. The role of management in "professional bureaucracies" can vary considerably. In some organizations, such as universities, the D + + workers of the operations core form a relatively loose association and the role of manager or administrator serves primarily to provide "boundary maintenance" - that is, to maintain relationships with key external stakeholders and to acquire and distribute critical resources. In such environments the administrator is invariably a professional himself or herself, and is often chosen to fill the role by the professional workers themselves. Perhaps it is even inappropriate to describe these positions as management roles in any of the usual senses of the term (see Mintzberg 1983 for a more elaborate discussion of the role of the Professional Bureaucracy administrator).

There are, however, other organizational settings where the workers of the operating core perform D + + work, while superordinate responsibilites more closely resemble managerial rather than administrative work. A multidisciplinary consulting firm provides one example of this type of organization. In such organizations, decisions related to overall corporate strategy (i.e., what products/services to provide to what markets) are made by senior managers (i.e., owners/partners). The division of labour in these organizations can be either functional (i.e., by area of expertise), or temporal (by stage of involvement in a long-term project), or both. However divided, D + + performance here will require the oversight of a superordinate managerial role in order to ensure co-ordination between workers. This co-ordination is particularly critical when D + + workers perform in a variety of practice areas and all provide services to the same client. Finally, training, socialization, and indoctrination are most often organization-specific. Particularly where there is no superordinate professional association setting standards for the D + + worker, the responsibility for training, socialization, and indoctrination falls to the organization's managers.

The model presented here makes it possible to conceive of organizations, where the primary work of the operating core is D + + in nature, as D + + organizations, rather than Professional Bureaucracies. Such a conceptualization is useful in order to make the point that work of the D + + type may also be performed by craftsmen and other licensed occupational groups. "Non-professionals" hired to do D + + work typically have less formal training than "professional" workers, but nevertheless do undergo lengthy apprenticeships under master craftsmen or tradesmen who make judgements about the worker's readiness to operate on his or her own.

It is important to recognize that, although D + + work requires that the worker be allowed a high degree of discretion, not any means nor any ends will do. As already suggested, in many instances these workers themselves, through their own professional associations, establish boundaries and set standards of performance for their work. Additionally, they often prescribe the training and indoctrination that is required for the admission of new workers into their ranks. While much of the training and indoctrination for the craft, trade, or profession may be under the control of worker associations or professional bodies, those responsible for managing this type of work must, nevertheless, make certain that the workers who are hired will be able to produce results that are consistent with the mission, purposes, and standards of the organization. Thus, if management has cause to doubt the soundness of the training or the credibility of the certification of prospective employees, it is not only their right but their responsibility to develop mechanisms to ensure that those that they hire possess the skills, knowledge, and motivation required to do the work of that organization.

As an example of the exercise of this management responsibility, consider the initiatives undertaken since 1980 by the Georgia State Department of Education to revise teacher-certification strategies. These initiatives reflect that managing body's lack of confidence in the state's teacher-preparation institutions and the traditional teacher-certification process. As in Ontario, most of the United States' departments of education (including Georgia until recently) have essentially delegated responsibility for teacher certification to the colleges and universities which offer preparation programs for education personnel. Customarily, these states approve the preparatory programs offered and then issue certificates to those graduates recommended by the preparatory institutions.

> Georgia has based its emerging policies on creating a distinction between preparation and licensure (certification) by returning to the state the direct responsibility for determining who should receive a certificate. The program is based upon the following procedures: First, a candidate completes a collegiate preparation program, then he or she must take and pass a test in order to receive an initial certificate. These tests have been specially prepared for Georgia's teachers to test the knowledge to be needed by the teacher in the specific curriculum area for which he or she is seeking certification.
>
> Upon passing the test, the candidate has three years to demonstrate in the classroom the required performance competencies. Data collectors have been trained to complete the on-site assessments. The successful candidate then

> receives the standard Georgia certificate. This program also includes state-sponsored staff development training opportunities for candidates who initially do not meet the performance standards. (Phi Delta Kappan, Oct. 1980)

As in D - + organizations, the first task of management in D + + organizations is to ensure that employees are skilled, knowledgeable, and motivated. Yet management's responsibility does not end here. Management has to ensure that the discretion of workers is exercised consistently with the purpose, standards of performance, and, just as importantly, the values and ethics of the organization. In order to retain control of the organization, at a minimum, management must have mechanisms by which they can ensure that the individual worker is setting goals which are consistent with the goals of the organization as a whole. To satisfy demands for accountability, management must also have mechanisms to assess the extent to which goals are being actualized as results. Closer control would require the monitoring of two additional aspects of D + + work. Specifically, management would need to ensure that work situations are being skilfully and accurately diagnosed and that workers are setting goals that are appropriate to those diagnosed needs.

All of the above, of course, presumes the existence of meaningful organizational goals which can be articulated clearly, put into operation, and translated into performance standards. Where neither unambiguous goals nor performance standards exist, active performance control by management, beyond the act of rigorously screening potential employees, is extremely problematic.

While simply "taking a look" at work in progress may be an effective and appropriate way to monitor work that is controlled by prescribed processes, to do so where processes cannot be standardized is unlikely to yield the information required for effective control of organizational performance. This is especially true when

- an observer of D + + work in progress does not know what diagnosis has been made, and therefore does not understand why the particular means are being employed;
- an observer of D + + work in progress approves of what he or she sees, because what is observed is consistent with his or her own idea of how effective workers look, without checking the accuracy of the diagnosis. In such an instance the observer may be approving the right behaviour applied in the wrong circumstances;
- and finally, particularly if the work being performed requires the active participation of the client, the mere presence of the observer may upset the dynamics of the relationship between worker and client. Observation in such circumstances could make it unlikely that the appraiser would get a true picture of performance.

Put simply, perhaps the least appropriate mechanism for managing this type of work is an isolated observation of work in progress or a simple assessment of results.

While simply "taking a look" at results may be an effective and appropriate way to monitor work for which results may be prescribed, standardized, and quantifiably measured, to do so where many of the important results of a job are none of these, but are instead highly situational, is unlikely to yield the information required for effective control of D + + performance. This is particularly true when

- the most measurable outcomes of performance cannot be shown to be valid indicators of the quality of performance;
- controls to assess the levels of difficulty associated with obtaining certain outcomes in specific situations do not exist or are unavailable;

and

- where workers are likely to concentrate on some aspects of their jobs, and to neglect others, in order to improve their performance on the limited outcome measures imposed by management.

The case has been made that D + + work cannot be controlled by simple process or product measures. Meaningful control and evaluation of this type of work is much more complicated. As has been suggested above, control of D + + performance begins by ensuring that only skilled and appropriately socialized individuals are given licence to perform with broad discretion, in the first place. At the next level of control, management may attempt to ensure that D + + workers are making appropriate and accurate diagnoses of the problems to be addressed by their own work. This implies the existence of at least minimal standards related to what constitutes an effective need-assessment strategy, against which the worker's strategies may be evaluated.

While it may not be possible in D + + organizations to prescribe or predetermine work outcomes with the degree of specificity that is possible for other types of work, it should, nonetheless, be possible for the D + + worker to describe what, in the obtaining circumstances, would constitute a reasonable outcome of his or her efforts. In the case of D + + work, once the need assessment has been carried out, work must be undertaken with something in mind, for, as we established at the beginning of this study, work is intentional. Particularizing this notion to education, one refers to intended learning outcomes. Management should be able to ensure that these proposed outcomes are consistent with the objectives and standards of the organization.

At the same time, it is critical to bear in mind that D + + work does not occur in predictable environments, and that frequently the clients of this work have competing or conflicting needs which will have significant impact upon the accomplishment of any results. Because this is so, it may be necessary to modify expectations about what results should be deemed appropriate, as unforeseen events arise in the performance of the task and the obtaining circumstances change. In such situations as these, the D + + worker will be expected to make appropriate adaptations. Management, in turn, requires mechanisms that will enable it to know how expectations regarding results (i.e., goals) have been modified and to assess the appropriateness of these modifications.

The D + + worker must develop and carry out a plan of action to achieve the results he or she has determined to be reasonable. Here is where the worker is expected to exercise considerable discretion regarding means to an end. Yet the worker is not accorded total freedom to act; these actions must be within the parameters of established organizational or professional norms of conduct. If these organizational parameters are to have any constraining effect on performance, the organization must be prepared to deliver negative consequences wherever they are violated without adequate justification. While many professional associations have established codes of ethics and review bodies which hear complaints against professional workers, organizations employing D + + workers cannot depend entirely upon those codes of ethics and review bodies to ensure that discretionary performance within the organization does not violate the expectations of the organization itself. Rather, such organizations need to make explicit and public both the limits on discretion set by the organization and the consequences that will accrue to those who violate those limits.

Finally, it should be possible, with more or less precision, to assess the extent to which the desired outcomes have been achieved. The phrase "more or less precision" is emphasized here because the complexity of variables that may affect outcomes in D + + work, as well as the complex nature of many of the objectives of D + + work, will preclude the possibility in many instances of exact, reliable, objective measurement of outcomes. In many situations, where results will defy precise measurement, organizations will have to be satisfied with more general descriptions of perceived change. This limitation on the ability to measure performance results must be accepted as a consequence of the complexity of D + + work. Lipsky (1980) puts it bluntly:

> We cannot measure the quality of (this type of)... performance. Aspects of performance can be measured and assessed, and many surrogates for performance measures can be developed with important implications as management tools. But the most important dimensions of service performance defy calibration. (p. 168)

The fact that assessment of results in D + + work may be imprecise is no justification for failing to attempt to make these assessments. Without efforts to check the results of efforts, it is impossible for an organization or an individual to know what works and what doesn't; it is impossible to be self-correcting; and it is impossible to improve.

4.7 Summary

The position has been taken that it is necessary to understand how work is managed before it is possible to intelligently consider how work should be evaluated. It has also been suggested that any given job may incorporate responsibility for one or more of five basic aspects of work: assessment of need, objective-setting, planning, implementation of a workplan to achieve intended results, and evaluation of the results of work. Three types of work which differ from one another with respect to the degree of worker autonomy and discretion required for determining the appropriate results of work and the appropriate work processes for achieving results, have been described, as have the management strategies needed to monitor each type of work.

- D - - work is highly engineered. Its performance neither requires nor permits any significant exercise of worker discretion. The worker is responsible for implementing a workplan, in the form of standardized and routine practices and procedures, which have been designed by someone else, to achieve specific and standardized results.

- D - + work is directed towards the accomplishment of results which can be prescribed by someone other than the worker himself or herself. The unpredictability of the work situation itself, however, makes it impossible to specify precisely the means of achievement. Thus, worker discretion in the choice of means is required. The D - + worker is thus responsible both for developing and implementing workplans.

- D + + work is directed towards the achievement of results which cannot be specified, except in the most general terms, until the work itself has begun. This work has five stages: 1) assessment of need, 2) objective-setting, 3) planning, 4) implementation of the workplan to achieve intended results, and 5) evaluating the results of work. Considerable worker discretion with respect to all five stages of work is required.

5.0 The Nature of Teaching Work and Structural Attributes of the Education System

5.1 Introduction

Conceptions of the nature of the educational task in general and of the nature of teaching work specifically are implicit in the design of education organizations and in all the mechanisms developed to manage personnel in those organizations. These choices of organization design and management processes influence and constrain the decisions made about the purposes, criteria, and methodologies of personnel performance-appraisal systems. The present chapter is derived from the assumption that effective systems for the management and appraisal of certificated personnel in education organizations must be built upon a foundation of explicit, well-articulated, and consistent conceptions of the nature of the core work of the enterprise, namely, teaching. This is not to suggest that educators must achieve consensus about how teaching work is to be understood for once and for all. Such consensus is very likely neither possible nor, for that matter, even desirable. However, at the very least, some agreement on the nature of teaching, for the purpose of making decisions about the processes of performance management and the role and practice of performance-appraisal at a given time, is necessary.

Given that decisions regarding performance appraisal must be made in light of much larger decisions about the education system and about the nature of teaching work, and that these decisions must be negotiated and made by major stakeholders in the education system, it would be inappropriate for the authors of this report to produce guidelines for performance appraisal which presume to answer these questions. The purpose of the present chapter, therefore, is to identify some of the critical issues that must be addressed by education managers and policy makers before issues related to the design and implementation of performance-appraisal systems are addressed, and to discuss the implications that alternative views of teaching work have for decisions about performance appraisal.

The organizational-theory and learning-theory literatures offer diverse perspectives on the nature of teaching and of education organizations. Four organizational models - the Professional Bureaucracy, The Divisionalized Form (Mintzberg 1983), the Rationalistic Model, and the Natural Systems Model (Darling-Hammond et al. 1983) - will be examined here for the purpose of highlighting those differences between perspectives on education and teaching which must be resolved before effective decisions regarding performance management in education organizations can be made.

5.2 Using Professional Bureaucracy Theory to Understand Education Organizations

In their recent review of performance-appraisal processes, Ondrack and Oliver (1984a) propose that the Professional Bureaucracy model developed by Mintzberg (1983) is a useful framework for the "consideration of challenges inherent in designing an effective performance-appraisal process for professional educational staff". Like Mintzberg, Ondrack and Oliver assume that the work done in school systems most closely resembles professional work, and that school systems themselves may be thought of as Professional Bureaucracies. A closer examination of these assumptions will illuminate issues about teaching work and education organizations which are most relevant to the present discussion.

Professional work is commonly characterized as requiring a high degree of autonomy and decision-making authority.

> Whereas factory workers have very limited decision-making powers and are closely supervised in the performance of their work, professionals are expected to make most of their own decisions and be free of close supervision by supervisors. (McDaniel 1982: 75)
>
> We ask the professional to diagnose difficulties, appraise solutions and to choose among them. We ask him to take total responsibility for both strategy and tactics. (Broudy 1956: 182)

These descriptions of professional work match the description of D + + work put forward in chapter 4 of this report.

Mintzberg's Professional Bureaucracy model is posited as the organizational form which most effectively facilitates the autonomous performance of D + + work. According to Mintzberg (1983), the Professional Bureaucracy

> relies for co-ordination on the standardization of skills and its associated design parameter, training, and indoctrination. The Professional Bureaucracy hires duly trained and indoctrinated specialists - professionals - for the operating core, and then gives them considerable control over their own work...control over his own work means that the professional works relatively independently of his colleagues but closely with the clients he serves. (p. 190)

This description embodies three assumptions about professional work done in these organizations: first, that the work is carried out with a high degree of autonomy; second, that the granting of such autonomy is justified by the high level of specialized training required for professional-employment status; and third, that in these organizations professionals serve their clients directly.

Assessing the fit of the Professional Bureaucracy model to school systems, education managers and policy makers must take the following measurement first:

To what extent is it appropriate to view teaching as D + + work?

Many have observed and described the relative isolation of teachers in classrooms. The significant issue, however, is not whether teachers work away from the view of other adults, but to what degree they are expected and/or required to exercise discretion about the means and ends of their work behind their closed classroom doors. Darling-Hammond et al. (1984) describe two D + + conceptions of teaching:

> Under the conception of teaching as profession, teaching is seen as not only requiring a repertoire of specialized techniques but also as requiring the exercise of judgement about when those techniques should be applied (Shavelson, 1976; Shavelson & Stern, 1981). To exercise sound professional judgement, the teacher is expected to master a body of theoretical knowledge as well as a range of techniques.
>
> Under the conception of teaching as art, teaching techniques and their application may be novel, unconventional, or unpredictable. This is not to say that techniques or standards of practice are ignored, but that their form and use are personalized rather than standardized. As Gage (1978) explains, the teaching art involves "a process that calls for intuition, creativity, improvisation, and expressiveness: a process that leaves room for departures from what is implied by rules, formulas, and algorithms....
>
> Because teaching viewed as art encompasses elements of personal insight (as well as theoretically grounded professional insight) the teacher as artist is expected to exercise considerable autonomy in the performance of his or her work. (p. 292)

The model of effective teaching described by Madelaine Hunter (1976) similarly places great emphasis on the teacher's exercise of discretion.

> Only recently...have we been able to establish that an important source of the human's power to make a learning difference lies in professional decisions and in the behaviours that result from those decisions....
>
> In fact "teaching" is now defined as a series of decisions and the implementation of those decisions which increases the probability of intended learning. (p. 162)

Hunter (1976) assigns responsibility for identifying appropriate learning objectives to the teaching professional as well.

> The intended learning, whatever it is...must be at the correct level of difficulty for the learner. (p. 165)
>
> This is diagnosis. The teacher already knows something of what to expect from her students, but all the time she's teaching, she's making split-second decisions: "Do the kids know it? Shall I move on?....(AASA 1982: 11)

In these views of teaching, the work is dynamic, interactive, and situational, carried out with a professionally informed and intuitively grasped sense of what learning might be possible at any moment, and achieved by whatever means are judged to be appropriate. Teaching work may be said to unfold as it proceeds, in response to the perceived needs and capabilities of the learner.

The goals of D + + teaching work are likely to be those results deemed possible in the obtaining circumstances. Consideration of the obtaining circumstances would include all the constraints related to the working environment, as well as those related to the abilities, motivation, and co-operation of the learner. In this way the work of teachers in relation to students is seen as being similar to the work of physicians in relation to patients, and lawyers, accountants, or psychologists in relation to clients.

It may be seriously misleading, however, to assume that the teacher-student relationship is consistently similar to those other professional-client relationships noted here, once a teacher is employed to work within an education organization. The appropriateness of the Professional Bureaucracy model for describing and explaining education organizations depends not only on whether teaching is seen as D + + work, but whether teaching is organized and managed by the education organization in a way that is congruent with that view.

Mintzberg (1983) claims that the autonomous and situationally constrained nature of the relationship between professional and client bears major implications for the management of Professional Bureaucracies.

> (It) should be noted that strategy takes on a very different form in these kinds of organizations. Since their outputs are difficult to measure, their goals cannot be easily agreed upon. So the notion of a strategy - a single, integrated pattern of decisions common to the entire organization - loses a good deal of its meaning in the Professional Bureaucracy.
>
> Given the autonomy of each professional - his close working relationship with his clients, and his loose ones with his colleagues - it becomes logical to think in terms of a personal strategy for each professional. In many cases each selects his own clients and his own methods of dealing with them - in effect, chooses his own product-market strategy....(p. 200)

The Professional Bureaucracy's view of the market is often no more than the sum total of the individually and separately held views of each of its professional workers. In many respects it is possible to think of Professional Bureaucracies as being comprised of a number of independent professionals who have agreed to be independent together. The agreement which constitutes their relationship may not go much farther than a formulation of understandings about how to share office space and administrative services. In Professional Bureaucracies, such as law and accounting firms, a client's relationship with the organization will essentially be exclusively managed by a single professional. That professional will diagnose the client's needs, develop a plan for satisfying these, and then will see the whole task through to completion. While other workers, including other professionals, may become involved, that involvement will be at the discretion of, and largely under, the direction of the primary professional.

Mintzberg (1983) suggests that, save for its responsibility for hiring professionally accredited workers, the management of Professional Bureaucracies can do little to affect the performance of their organizations.

> There is virtually no control of work aside from that by the profession itself, no way to correct deficiencies that the professionals themselves choose to overlook. Discretion not only enables some professionals to ignore the needs of their clients; it also encourages them to ignore the needs of the organization. Professionals in these structures do not generally consider themselves part of a team. To many, the organization is almost incidental, a convenient place to practise their skills. (pp. 206-207)

A distinguishing feature of these Professional Bureaucracies, thus, is that tasks are performed relatively independently. How well or badly these tasks are performed has few consequences for how well or badly the tasks of others are performed. This discussion of the independent nature of the work done in Professional Bureaucracies is significant because of its implications for accountability and for the management of performance in those organizations. Where professionals come together in loosely structured organizations, for the sake of having a place to practise their skills, and where they serve their clients directly, accountability for performance is straightforward. The client is either satisfied or is not; the client either chooses to continue to obtain services from this professional or to go elsewhere.

Mintzberg (1983) notes that professional workers are particularly susceptible to the means-ends inversion, where the worker "becomes so enamored with his skills that he forgets about the real needs of his clients."

> In this case the professional confuses the needs of his clients with the skills he has to offer them. He simply concentrates on the program that he favours to the exclusion of all the others - perhaps because he does it best or simply enjoys it most. This presents no problems as long as only those clients in need of that favourite program are directed his way. But should other clients slip in, trouble ensues. (p. 208)

The independence permitted workers in the Professional Bureaucracy allows for the possibility that workers will perfect the programs they offer, because there is no central pressure for them to do otherwise. This opportunity, however, becomes a limitation when dynamic conditions and changing environments call for innovative responses.

> Major innovation...depends on co-operation. Existing programs can be perfected by individual specialists. But new ones usually cut across existing specialities...and so call for interdisciplinary efforts. As a result, the reluctance of the professionals to work co-operatively with each other translates itself into problems of innovation. (p. 209)

Solutions to the problems inherent in managing performance in Professional Bureaucracies, Mintzberg (1983) suggests, grow from a recognition of professional work for what it is.

> Change in the Professional Bureaucracy does not sweep in from new administrators taking office to announce major reforms, nor from government technostructures intent on bringing the professionals under their control. Rather, change seeps in by the slow process of changing the professionals - changing who can enter the profession, what they learn in its professional schools (norms as well as skills and knowledge), and thereafter how willing they are to upgrade their skills. (p. 213)

Thus, as indicated at the beginning of this study, control of workers in Professional Bureaucracies is largely a function of the rigorous standards that are imposed with respect to granting admission to the professional group. Ryan and Cooper (1975) elaborate on this control device in their discussion of criteria for judging the professional status of work.

> A professional relies upon intellectual skills in the performance of its service. This does not mean that physical actions and skills are not needed, but rather that the emphasis in carrying on the work is on intellectual skills and techniques....
>
> Because professional work requires special intellectual skills, specialized intellectual training is needed. General education, such as that represented by a Bachelor's degree is valued, but not considered adequate. The specialized training must cover a substantial period of time and not be obtained in cram courses or correspondence schools. (pp. 301-302)

An assessment of the fit of the Professional Bureaucracy model to school systems thus raises the following question:

> To what extent is the training required for teaching sufficient to justify the degree of autonomy required by a D + + conception of teaching work?

McDaniel (1982) notes that "few would argue that the professional preparation of teachers is 'long' compared to prototype professions like medicine and law." More importantly, he charges that

> one of the greatest barriers to professional status for teachers is the apparent lack of coherent theoretical and empirical knowledge underlying pedagogical practices. This is not to imply that there has been a shortage of research studies on teaching, but only to suggest that there has emerged to date no clearly accepted discipline of education. (p. 73)

He contends that the absence of an intellectual framework for education practice is coupled with a "pervasive anti-intellectualism at all levels of the (education) enterprise".

The present research effort has not called for any comprehensive review of teacher-education programs or certification practices; thus we are not in a position to support or contradict McDaniel's charges. Our work has revealed, however, that his sentiments are shared by many leaders in the educational community of Ontario. This point is raised here only to suggest that the applicability of the Professional Bureaucracy model to the school systems of Ontario must be viewed as at least partly dependent upon one's perceptions of the adequacy of current teacher-preparation and certification practices.

Corporate performance in Professional Bureaucracies is largely a matter of the sum total of the effective relationships between professionals and their individual clients. Failure of any single professional to satisfy the needs of a given client will have significant impact upon his or her relationship with that client, but will not necessarily have adverse impact on the performance of other professional workers with their own individual clients. Only where consistently poor performance by an individual damages the reputation of the organization as a whole, will corporate performance in Professional Bureaucracies be adversely affected by the work of individual professionals.

As a result of the high degree of autonomy and authority accorded to D + + workers in Professional Bureaucracies, many of the basic management responsibilities and prerogatives (i.e., establishing goals, setting performance standards, devising strategy) are decentralized; that is, to a major extent, the professional worker manages himself or herself. There is a role for centralized "management" in the Professional Bureaucracy, but that role is basically limited to dealing with conflict and disturbances which occur within the organization, and to developing and maintaining satisfactory relationships with environments external to the organization.

> The professional administrators... serve key roles at the boundary of the organization, between the professionals inside and interested parties - governments, client associations, and so on - on the outside. On the one hand, the adminstrators are expected to protect the professionals' autonomy, to "buffer" them from external pressures. On the other hand, the administrators are expected to woo those outsiders to support the organization, both morally and financially. Thus the external roles of manager... emerge as primary ones in professional administration. (Mintzberg 1983: 199)

Mintzberg also notes that

> frequently (the professional) abhors administration, desiring only to be left alone to practise his profession. But that freedom is gained only at the price of administrative effort - raising funds, resolving conflicts, buffering the demands of outsiders. This leaves the professional two choices - to do the administration work himself, in which case he has less time to practise his profession, or to leave it to adminstrators, in which case he must surrender some of his power over decision making. And that power must be surrendered... to adminstrators who, by virtue

> of the fact that they do not wish to practise the profession, probably favour a different set of goals....
>
> Power in these structures does flow to those professionals who care to devote effort to doing administrative instead of professional work, especially to those who do it well. But that, it should be stressed, is not laissez-faire power: the professional administrator keeps his power only so long as the professionals perceive him to be serving their interests effectively... that power can easily be overwhelmed by the collective power of professionals. (pp. 199-200)

Where education organizations are seen as Professional Bureaucracies and teachers as client-serving professionals practising within them, the school principal is seen primarily as a leader who encourages the teachers' efforts and as

> an adminstrator whose task it is to ensure that teachers have the resources necessary to carry out their work. (Darling-Hammond et al. 1984)

The adequacy of the Professional Bureaucracy model to explain issues related to performance management and appraisal in school systems is thus conditioned by how education policy makers answer the following questions:

- To what extent must, or should, teaching work be viewed as independent, highly situational, and needing to be tailored to the particular needs of particular students at a given time? In other words, is teaching viewed as D + + work?
- Is the education system structured and managed to support a D + + view of teaching?
- Is the primary role of principals to protect the teachers' autonomy and to ensure that essential resources are made available?
- Are teachers directly accountable to the clients of the education system?

While present practices in the organization of education may deviate from those suggested by the Professional Bureaucracy model, it should be noted that at least one movement for educational reform which has had limited support in the past and is expected to have greater support in the future might render this model increasingly relevant. The notion of "consumer sovereignty" in education, first put forward more than two centuries ago, holds that parents and children are the primary clients of educational services. Many would-be educational reformers over the past three decades have argued that educational services should be designed and regulated in order to serve the interests of families and individual children, and that parents should be allowed the power and authority to choose the best education for their children from a wide range of alternative educational options. A variety of "voucher education" schemes has thus been proposed to "de-nationalize" schools and to promote consumer sovereignty in education (Friedman 1955). Conceivably, such an education scheme could facilitate professional autonomy, while at the same time increasing the direct accountability of professional to client. The Professional Bureaucracy model would likely be of particular value to any consideration of the costs and benefits of a decentralized, consumer-choice approach to the delivery of educational services.

5.3 Using the Divisionalized Form to Understand Education Organizations

The notion of "consumer sovereignty" in education is not a mainstream model for education at this time. Instead, most public education systems today appear to represent a politically developed contract between a state-managed education system and its clients who are considered to be society-at-large. Meyer and Rowan (1978) reflect this view.

> Modern schools produce education for society, not for individuals or families. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries national societies everywhere took over the function of defining and managing the socialization of their citizen personnel. In national societies education is both a right and a duty of citizenship....Not only has formal education become dominant but this education is organized in large bureaucracies managed by political systems; no longer is it simply a matter of exchange between families and local educational organizations. (pp. 78-79)

Levin (1968) notes that

> the schools are expected to fulfill certain social functions. For example, basic schooling represents the primary device for equalizing opportunities among racial and social groups....It is not clear that a set of largely autonomous schools could provide the common set of values and knowledge necessary for the functioning of a democratic society....Whatever the success of the market in meeting consumer preferences, it would be offset by the market's failure to satisfy the social goals of basic schooling. (p. 33)

This view of education systems as mechanisms in service of the needs of society-at-large necessitates, at least theoretically, that the managers of those systems concern themselves with the expectations and opinions of a variety of interest groups, in addition to parents and students themselves (i.e., employers, law enforcement agents, professionals in institutions of higher learning, agents of social welfare, politicians, etc.). Ultimately, managers at the most senior levels of the education organizaton are expected to be accountable to this array of stakeholders for corporate performance. Centralized, politically managed education organizations will thus require and develop mechanisms that allow them to influence the goals of the education system, in light of the interests and values expressed by a wide spectrum of stakeholders. The need for centralized control and/or regulation of educational services in order to direct efforts towards the achievement of politically negotiated goals would appear to conflict with the need for autonomy and direct accountability of professionals operating within Professional Bureaucracies. Taken by itself the Professional Bureaucracy model is not adequate to permit an understanding of the impact that centralized control may have on education systems where teaching is viewed as D + + work.

Mintzberg (1983) has developed another organizational typology - the Divisionalized Form - which is more useful for examining the impact of centralized control on D + + work. This model should be of particular interest to managers of centrally controlled education organizations, where teaching is viewed as most closely resembling D + + work, and especially where the ideal school organization is understood to resemble the Professional Bureaucracy.

In itself, the Divisionalized form

> is not a complete structure... but rather a structure superimposed on others....(It is) most widely used in the private sector of the industrialized economy - the vast majority of Fortune 500, America's largest corporations, are so organized. But it is also found in other sectors as well. The multiversity - the multiple campus institution, such as the University of California - used a variant of this configuration, as does the hospital system comprising a number of specialized hospitals, and the socialist economy, where state enterprises serve as divisions and the economic agencies of the central government, the headquarters. (pp. 330 - 338)

Divisions are created to serve specific markets, and then division managers are given the control and authority required to carry out the work. Thus, within the Divisionalized Form, divisions operate as relatively autonomous entities, free of the need to co-ordinate with other divisions. To use Weick's (1976) term, the overall system is "loosely coupled" - tied together either weakly or infrequently or with minimal interdependence.

> This...allows a large number of divisions to be grouped under the headquarters - in other words, the span of control at the strategic apex (top management level) of the Divisionalized Form can be rather wide. (Mintzberg 1983: 217)

At the same time that great authority for decision making is decentralized to the divisions, headquarters must retain some form of control in order to prevent the divisions from becoming completely autonomous.

> The question then becomes: How can the headquarters maintain control while allowing each division sufficient autonomy to manage its own operations? And the answer lies in one specific design parameter: the performance control system. In general, the headquarters allows the divisions close to full autonomy to make their own decisions and then monitors the results of these decisions. This monitoring is done after the fact, in specific quantitative terms....(T)he prime co-ordinating mechanism in the Divisionalized Form is the standardization of outputs. (Ibid.)

In terms developed earlier in this report, divisions are managed by headquarters as if their work were D - + work.

Mintzberg notes that because the Divisionalized Form relies most heavily upon the standardization of results for co-ordination and control, this organizational structure is more effective where each division operates with a single, consistent set of goals; where clearly defined consistent performance standards may be derived from those goals; and where the performance standards lend themselves to quantitative measures of performance control. For example, in the case of a business corporation, divisions are held accountable to specified standards of profit, sales growth, or return on investment. The Divisionalized Form is most effective where the autonomy of workers within divisions is significantly restricted. The work done by the operating core of the divisions will most often be either highly engineered (D - - work), or will be managed with reference to highly specified results (D - + work).

Mintzberg claims that when the Divisonalized Form is superimposed on a Professional Bureaucracy the latter tends to be forced to function

> as a single, integrated system, on which one set of performance measures can be imposed. The division manager, to whom power is delegated from headquarters, must be able to impose the measures on his division; in other words he must treat it as a top-down, regulated system. For the Professional Bureaucracy...in large part bottom-up and non-regulated - that amounts to a pressure to centralize. (p. 220)

He notes that

> in general the pure Divisionalized Form does not work effectively outside the private sector. This despite widespread attempts to use it - in school systems, universities, hospitals, government corporations, indeed in all of them together in one giant public sector divisionalized monolith....
>
> The most serious problem remains that of measurement: the goals governments and most institutions must plug into the performance control system - basically social goals do not lend themselves to measurement. And without measurement the pure Divisionalized Form cannot work. (p. 251)

It has already been noted that the wide range of goals held by independent professionals within Professional Bureaucracies precludes the development of consistently applied and quantitative standards of performance. This creates a serious management issue for headquarters.

> Lacking adequate performance measures, they must find other means to control the divisions (or force in artificial measures that fail to capture the spirit of the social goals or that ignore them entirely in favour of economic goals). One is socialization - the appointment of managers who believe in the social goals in question. (p. 222)

In large measure, the success of each division depends upon the competence and commitment of its manager, since so much decision-making power is delegated to him or her. For this reason, headquarters will often go to lengths to standardize the skills of these individuals (through some training or certification process), as well as to indoctrinate them in the broad goals of the organization at large. The control afforded through the selection and indoctrination of division managers is, however, limited and so

> pressures arise to use other measures of control. The obvious ones are direct supervision and standardization of work, the issuing of direct orders and general rules. (p. 220)

Simply put, where the Divisionalized Form is superimposed on Professional Bureaucracies, it is most likely that the autonomy of professionals within those divisions will increasingly be constrained, either through the prescription of work processes (as in D - - work), or through the prescription of standardized results (as in D - + work). If one assumes that certain types of work (i.e., teaching viewed as D + + work) require the exercise of a high degree of workers discretion regarding work results and processes in order to be effective, then it follows that this hybrid organizational configuration will serve as an obstacle to professional and organizational effectiveness.

5.4 Using the Rationalistic Model to Understand Education Organizations

The basic premise of the present report is that effective performance-management strategies - including performance-appraisal systems - must be conceived in light of a broad understanding of the nature of the organization and a consistent understanding of the nature of the work of the organization's operating core. So far this chapter has focused on the organizational and performance-management implications that are derived from a view of teaching as D + + work. The Professional Bureaucracy model has been shown to be an organizational form which can facilitate the exercise of worker discretion and independence, but limits the possibilities for developing and working towards a single, consistent set of organizational goals. In contrast, the Divisionalized Form, when superimposed on the Professional Bureaucracy, has been shown to increase centralized control at the expense of worker autonomy. Thus, where worker autonomy is seen as essential to performance, this organizational form may create major obstacles in the path of effectiveness.

Neither model accounts for the fact that in many organizations the work of individual "professionals" is often conceived of as making up elements of a larger, overall task which has been conceived, designed, and implemented at some superordinate level in the organization. In these situations, the discretion which can be exercised by any one professional worker with respect to ends and means must be subordinated to, and constrained by, the requirements of the larger task, and the needs of co-workers. Effective corporate performance in these situations requires the co-ordination of subtasks.

Where education systems are seen as mechanisms serving the needs of society-at-large, it is increasingly unlikely that the work of individual teachers will be viewed as independent, situationally constrained relationships serving clients directly. Rather, such a view of the mandate of the education system increases the probability that teaching work will be seen as interdependent subtasks of a larger, overall educational task.

> Socializing children and adolescents for adult roles is massive and complex. Thus, school systems deal with students over long periods of time and must provide educational services which comprise coherent sequences of increasingly differentiated and demanding socialization tasks. As the roles for which students are trained become more complex and specialized and as in the United States the school-leaving age has been raised so that most students remain in school systems for periods of 10-12 years, the co-ordination of educational activities so that they are coherent and sequential moves more and more to the centre of school system administration. (Bidwell 1965: 974-975)

Bidwell suggests that when an education system is expected to produce a uniform product (i.e., a socialized adult, competent to assume the responsibilities of adult citizenship), the system itself tends to uniformity. He cites, as an example, the standardized sequencing of the movement of students from grade to grade, classroom to classroom, and school to school within a school system.

> The product of each classroom and school unit must be uniform with respect to the next stage of the students' career. Even if activities within the classroom and school units of the system are not routinized, the movement of students from one unit to the next must be.
>
> Maintaining this routinization, therefore, is a principal task of school-system administration. (Bidwell 1965: 974-976)

Neither the Professional Bureaucracy model nor the model of the Divisionalized Form are adequate for explaining the performance-control options available to education organizations where teaching work is viewed as a set of interdependent subtasks of a larger educational task that has been centrally conceived and designed. To shed some light on these options and their implications, it will be useful to examine the Rationalistic model of school organizations, developed by Bidwell and expanded by Darling-Hammond et al. (1984).

School systems fitting the Rationalistic Model show the following characteristics:

> (a) functional division of labor, (b) the definition of staff roles as offices which are distinguished by functional specificity of performance and universalistic, effectively neutral interaction with clients, (c) the hierarchical ordering of offices, and (d) operating according to the rules of procedure which set limits to the discretionary performance of officers by specifying both the aims and the modes of official action....(Darling-Hammond et al. 1984: 300)

The rationalistic model of education implies a view of teaching work in which the results and/or means of teaching are prescribed and standardized to allow for the co-ordination of work done within the educational unit (i.e., school, district, or school system). In terms developed earlier, the rationalistic model sees teaching as either D - - or D - + work. Teachers are accountable to management for achieving specified results (D - +) or for performing in accordance with process specifications (D - -), while management is accountable to society-at-large for overall corporate performance.

Effective corporate performance in rationalistic organizations depends, in large measure, on the effective co-ordination of subtasks. Organizations have a variety of options for ensuring that interdependent subtasks, whether they be the work of professionals or non-professionals, are effectively co-ordinated. Depending on the nature of the task, these co-ordinating mechanisms may be any or some combination of direct supervision, mutual adjustment, prescription of work results, or the standardization of work processes, practices and/or procedures (Mintzberg 1983).

Galbraith (1977) suggests that the choice of co-ordinating mechanisms used by an organization will be a function of "task uncertainty".

> The greater the uncertainty of the task, the greater the amount of information that has to be processed between decision makers during the execution of the task. If the task is well understood prior to its performance, much of the activity can be preplanned. If it is not understood, then during the actual task execution more knowledge is acquired which leads to changes in resource allocation, schedules, and priorities. All these changes require information processing during task performance. Therefore the greater the task uncertainty, the greater the amount of information that must be processed among decision makers during task execution in order to achieve a given level of performance. (p. 36)

He further suggests that it is the degree of task uncertainty which leads organizations to choose various modes of organizing.

> It is hypothesized that the observed variations in organizational forms are actually variations in the alternative organizing modes to (1) increase their ability to preplan, (2) increase the flexibility to adapt to their inability to preplan, or (3) decrease the level of performance required for continued viability. (p. 36)

The Rationalistic Model of education systems supports an organizational design most suited to a "preplannable" educational task.

> A rationalistic view of teaching presumes that once the goals of education are decided upon by external authorities, administrators will define behavioural objectives and teachers will teach to those objectives. Teacher and pupil performance can be tested; these assessments will yield meaningful measures of the success of the educational enterprise. (Darling-Hammond 1984: 300)

This view essentially assumes that the information needed to effectively plan and perform the educational task is possessed by the education organization in advance. It also assumes that outcomes can be quantified and measured, and that a sufficiently mature teaching technology exists to ensure that desired outcomes can be achieved.

Where such a view of the educational task obtains, teaching may be viewed as D - - work.

> Under the conception of teaching as labor (D - - work), teaching activities are "rationally planned, programmatically organized, and routinized in the form of standard operating procedures" by administrators (Mitchell & Kerchner 1983: 35). The teacher is responsible for implementing the instructional program in the prescribed manner and for adhering to the specified routines and procedures....This view of teaching work assumes that effective practices can be determined and specified in concrete ways, and that adherence to these practices will be sufficient to produce the desired results. (Darling-Hammond 1984: 291)

The principal, as supervisor of D - - teaching work, must ensure that the work is carried out as prescribed. Teacher evaluation for the purpose of monitoring and control is appropriately carried out by the direct inspection of work in progress.

This view of education places major limits on teacher autonomy. Opportunities for the exercise of discretion are limited to only the inconsequential aspects of the educational program. The loss of teacher autonomy is necessarily coupled with a corresponding decrease in teacher accountability for results at the classroom or corporate level. Where management dictum and evaluation practice binds teachers to standardized processes, routines, and prescribed teaching behaviours, management (in concert with its appointed technostructure of education "engineers") retains responsibility for whatever results from those routines, processes, and behaviours.

Darling-Hammond (1984) notes that the rationalistic model described above

> gives little play for variations in teacher or student temperament, interests, or styles. It also ignores the importance of organizational context - the fact that in different situations teachers and students will perform differently. (p. 300)

It is possible to conceive of a school system subscribing to a somewhat less controlled model of educational organization, while still retaining most features of the rationalistic approach to education. Where an organization lacks the information required to preplan work by standardizing work processes in advance, it may possess sufficient information to preplan work by dividing responsibilities and prescribing results in advance. In order to be effective as a co-ordinating mechanism, such preplanning of results must be derived from the knowledge that the division of labour is rational, and that prescribed results are indeed achievable and reasonable for the great majority of workers. This view of teaching most closely resembles the description of D - + work in our model.

Co-ordination through prescribed results in education allows for some recognition of the variability of teaching-learning situations, by allowing and/or requiring teachers to exercise discretion regarding the means of teaching, so long as they achieve the predetermined results. For the prescribed results of subtasks to effectively serve as the prime co-ordinating mechanism for teaching work, those results must be quantifiable and measurable; that is, there must be objective and verifiable ways of ensuring that the desired results have been achieved.

Supervision of teaching, where teaching is viewed as D - + work, is most likely to be concerned with ensuring that results are being achieved consistently. Teachers will be allowed the autonomy to make their own decisions regarding means, and supervisors will be involved in monitoring the results of these decisions. Where the desired result of the teaching task is conceived of as student learning, student performance on standardized achievement tests is a likely source of results data, and it is these specific results for which individual teachers are held accountable.

The use of student-results data for assessing the effectiveness of teachers is exceedingly unpopular among many groups of teachers. The numerous objections made to this approach are discussed in chapter 6. The significant point here is that in organizations where work is seen as D - + work, co-ordination and control based on prescribed and standardized results are commonplace, and probably more effective than any other co-ordinating/control mechanism. Thus, before addressing objections to the use of student scores on standardized tests to evaluate teachers, an organization must clarify its position on whether or not it is appropriate to view teaching as D - + work.

It should be noted that, in both the Divisionalized Form/Professional Bureaucracy and the Rationalistic Model, teaching work is managed as if it most closely resembles D - - or D - + work. The important difference between the two models resides in the fact that in the first case, teaching has initially been conceived of as professional, D + + work. The Divisionalized Form has in effect put a "straight jacket" on the teacher, and for this reason is not expected to produce optimal performance. In contrast, the Rationalistic Model begins from the assumption that it is appropriate to view and manage teaching as D - - or D - + work. This organizational form thus is expected to optimize performance given that view of teaching.

5.5 Using the Natural Systems Model to Understand Education Organizations

Galbraith has suggested that when organizations faced with a high degree of task uncertainty find themselves unable either to preplan or to choose an appropriate adaptive strategy, they may lower performance standards to a level which is just sufficient to remain viable. Faced with an increasingly pluralistic society and the need to be all things to all people, such a strategy might emerge, almost by default, as the public education system's response to a high degree of task uncertainty. In such a situation, the task for educational managers has two quite distinct aspects: one is to manage performance, the other is to appear to be managing performance. Faced with a multiplicity of expectations about organizational performance from a multiplicity of interest groups, managing appearances may take precedence over actually managing performance. Meyer and Rowan (1978) address this issue as follows:

> Attempts to tightly link the prescriptions of the central theory of education to the activities of instruction would create conflict and inconsistency and discredit and devalue the meaning of ritual classifications in society. Educators (and their social environments) therefore decouple their ritual structure from instructional activities and outcomes and resort to a "logic of confidence": higher levels of the system organize on the assumption that what is going on at lower levels makes sense and conforms to rules, but they avoid inspecting it to discover or assume responsibility for inconsistencies and ineffectiveness. In this fashion, educational organizations work more smoothly than is commonly supposed, obtain high levels of external support from divergent community and state sources, and maximize the meaning and prestige of the ritual categories of people they employ and produce. (p. 80)

The resulting education organizational structure is perhaps best typified by the Natural Systems Model of school organizations (Darling-Hammond 1984, Corwin 1974).

The natural systems model assumes the following organizational characteristics:

- absence of consensus among the membership on values, norms, and objectives;
- functional autonomy of the parts of the organization;
- bargaining and compromise to decide the terms of the relationship in absence of consensus;
- de facto decentralization of power;
- incomplete information for making decisions; and,
- lack of co-ordination in planning and policy making.

(Darling-Hammond 1984: 301)

Natural Systems tend to be organizations "with long hierarchies, where the higher levels are directly linked to the political system and the organization is susceptible to outside influence". (Corwin 1974: 225)

> The model implies that power is dispersed, partly because of "slippage" that can occur between the levels at which policies are formulated and those at which they are implemented...the hierarchy accentuates communication problems; the longer the hierarchy the more distortion that can take place at each successive lower level, due to misinterpretations as well as to conflicts of interest between subordinate and superordinate groups. (Corwin 1974: 225-56)

The Natural Systems model does not impose any consistently held view of teaching; however, the loose coupling of elements in the organization make it an unlikely environment for the effective control of D - - or D - + work. Darling-Hammond (1984) notes that

> because they are functionally autonomous and de facto power is decentralized, and because planning and policy making are not highly co-ordinated, teachers may not govern their routine actions with reference to the deliberate decisions made by others in the hierarchy....They may accede to some rationalistic procedures through a process of bargaining and compromise, but these will not completely override the teachers' own conception of teaching work. (p. 301)

The de facto decentralization of power in Natural Systems education organizations results in the opportunity for many teachers to exercise considerable discretion with respect to the ends and means of their work; in other words, by default, in Natural Systems organizations the work of teachers may be viewed as D + + work.

Thus we have come full circle to a D + + view of teaching. It is important to recognize the significant differences between D + + teaching in Natural Systems organizations and D + + teaching work in Professional Bureaucracies. A key feature of the latter organizational form is the absence of any requirement for meaningful co-ordination of efforts between workers. Furthermore, in Professional Bureaucracies the most significant accountability relationships are those between professional and client. In contrast, in Natural Systems the direct link from the highest levels of the organization to the political system tends to create, at least theoretically, a centrally and politically defined organizational mission. The mission, in turn, results in the conception of an overall educational task which is divided into subtasks in need of co-ordination, and the notion of senior management accountability for corporate performance.

It has already been shown that, in Natural System educational organizations, performance-control systems based on the prescription of work processes or results are of limited effectiveness. Thus, as in Professional Bureaucracies, the primary co-ordinating mechanism left to these organizations is the standardization of the worker. That is, as in all previous descriptions of managing D + + work, the organization must exert great effort to ensure that only those individuals with the appropriate skills, knowledge, and attitudes are admitted to the organization in the first place.

Having hired only duly trained and skilled workers, the organization must then ensure that the worker is socialized and indoctrinated to the broadly stated goals of the organization. Opportunities must be provided for teachers to become oriented to the teaching/learning scheme operating in the organization. Mechanisms need to be in place to ensure that teachers are made aware of what precedes their work and what needs to follow from their work.

Thus it is suggested that organizations which are characterized as natural systems may, as a result of high task uncertainty and the loose coupling of organizational elements, lower performance standards to a level which is just sufficient to remain viable. Where these organizations remain largely uninspected, or when inspection is designed so as to avoid highlighting inconsistencies and ineffectiveness, it is possible to maintain "appearances". This perspective on education organizations as natural systems raises some significant issues for policy makers considering the development and implementation of meaningful performance-appraisal systems for education personnel.

There is evidence to suggest that the current interest in performance-appraisal in education is derived, at least in some quarters, from a desire to address a perception that the standards of education systems have dropped too low. Given the view of education organizations as a natural system put forward here, one must question whether better performance-appraisal mechanisms will serve to increase confidence in the standards of the school systems, or whether in fact they might generate even greater concern about standards. First, it must be noted that the absence of consensus among membership related to values, norms, and objectives will serve as a serious obstacle to the development of performance standards upon which performance-appraisal systems may be based. Second, close inspection of the system may reveal inconsistencies which education management is unprepared or unequipped to resolve at this time.

5.6 Summary

The purpose of the present chapter has been to illustrate how differing views of the overall educational task can lead to different organizational structures and different conceptualizations of the nature of teaching work. Whether or not these differing conceptualizations of teaching actually impede or enhance the day-to-day operations of the school is relatively immaterial here; what is critical, however, is that different views of the nature of work will almost certainly impede the development of consensus about the purposes, criteria, and methodologies of performance-appraisal.

This report takes the position that the concept of effective performance in any education organization will be determined by how one understands the educational task overall, the standards used to assess performance of that task, the division of the educational task into subtasks, the nature of these subtasks, and the organizational processes required for their control and co-ordination. Where performance-appraisal systems are designed and implemented without making these fundamental assumptions explicit, it is more than likely that the results will be at best unproductive, and at worst highly disruptive.

Recommendation

9. The Ministry must make explicit its understanding of the degree of task uncertainty associated with the educational task and the nature of teaching work. This understanding

should inform all future decisions which have to be made with respect to performance commitments, planning and organizing, monitoring and control.

10. The Ministry should develop its view of the nature of teaching in full consultation and collaboration with representatives of the educational community.

11. The Ministry must make decisions about the degree of discretion required at the various levels within the education system (i.e., Ministry, school board, school, and classroom) for the performance of the major elements of work:

    - assessment of needs;
    - determination of work outcomes and standards of performance for these outcomes;
    - work processes to be employed;
    - implementation; and
    - performance monitoring and control.

    The discretion granted to the various levels of the education system should be a function of the Ministry's view of the degree of task uncertainty associated with the educational task and the Ministry's view of the nature of teaching work.

12. The limits on discretion and the assigning of responsibility for each of the tasks above (as in number 11), for each of the levels of the education system, should become the basis for the design of roles and for the development of position descriptions. Then job descriptions should be reviewed to ensure that they accurately reflect expectations regarding the degree of discretion to be exercised by individuals in a given role with regard to their specific accountabilities.

6.0 A Re-Examination of Performance Appraisal Practices

6.1 The Performance Equation

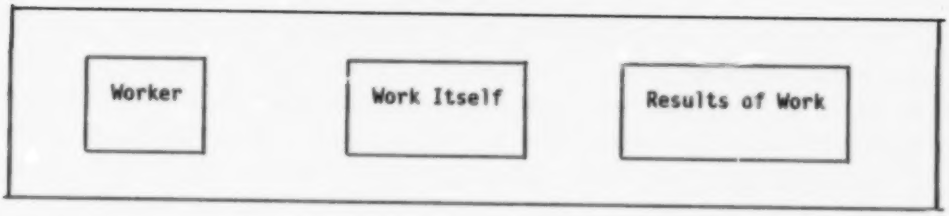
This report has taken the position that, if they are to be effective, performance-appraisal practices must "fit" the organizations they are intended to serve. The general issues related to making an assessment of fit between specific education organizations and performance-appraisal systems have been raised in chapters 3, 4, and 5 of this report. The purpose of the present chapter is to promote an understanding of the critical necessity for internal consistency within performance-appraisal systems - specifically, the need to ensure the compatability of performance-appraisal purposes, performance-appraisal practices, and the nature of work.

The bottom line and common denominator of all personnel performance-appraisal systems is that they lead to the generation of judgements about the appropriateness of a worker's performance on the job. These judgements are derived from a comparison of perceptions of performance with expectations about what the worker is expected to do or accomplish and how well - in other words, performance standards. Thus, while all the management responsibilities identified earlier in this report are critical prerequisites to effective performance appraisal, the most critical of all is the establishment of performance criteria or standards both for the organization as a whole and for individual workers. It is simply logically impossible for an organization to develop or implement a meaningful performance-appraisal system unless the organization knows what its performance expectations are.

The quality of performance will reflect the relationship among a number of elements. The skills, knowledge, and attitudes a worker brings to the job will, to some degree, influence the way the operations and activities of the work itself (i.e., the work processes) are carried out. These factors will, in turn, have an impact on the results of work. However, because workers, work, and results do not exist in a vacuum, there is an additional element to be considered; namely, the organization. To the extent that organizations select, train, motivate, and reward workers, prescribe work practices and procedures, monitor the quality of their goods and services, and make modifications in response to clients' needs as they change over time, organizations influence workers, the work processes they choose, and the results of work.

Clearly these four factors - worker, work, results, and organization - exist in some kind of relationship with one another. The important question that has to be asked is: What is the nature of that relationship? The relationship among worker, work itself, results of work, and organizational context may be thought of as a performance equation (see figure 3a), and each performance-appraisal system may be seen as a proposed solution to the equation.

Figure 3a: The performance equation
Organizational context



Performance-appraisal systems are invariably based upon some set of assumptions about the connections among some or all of the four elements identified here. These assumptions, however, are often not made explicit or subjected to scrutiny, but instead are only implied by the evaluation criteria employed by each performance-appraisal system.

Evaluation criteria - that is, what is looked at in the act of appraisal and the standards that inform appraisal judgements - may be grouped in three major classifications:

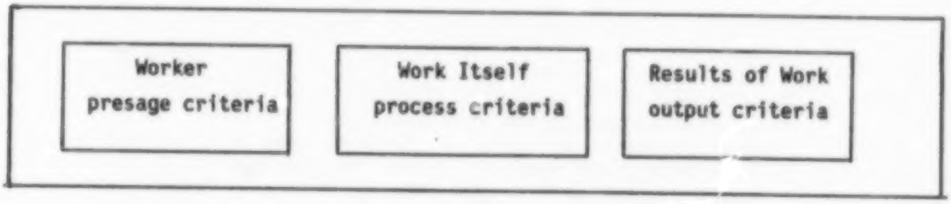
1. Criteria that relate to the worker: skills, knowledge, attitudinal and psychological factors. These are generally referred to as presage or competency criteria.

2. Criteria that relate to the work itself: the practices, procedures, operations, and behaviours that are required for the performance of work. These are generally referred to as process criteria.

3. Criteria that relate to the results of work: the services and/or products which the work is created to provide. These are generally referred to as output criteria.

These three types of criteria correspond with the elements of worker, work itself, and results of work, in the performance equation (see figure 3b).

Figure 3b: Organizational context



The selection of appropriate and valid evaluation criteria is absolutely essential to any effective performance-evaluation system. The validity of performance evaluation criteria is unquestionably one of the most vexing of evaluation issues and the one around which adversarial positions among stakeholders can be very quickly taken. It is in situations of unarticulated and/or untested assumptions about the nature of the relationships among the elements in the performance equation that evaluation systems often fail. Too often a debate about which purposes should be served by a performance-appraisal system actually reflects disagreement about the validity or appropriateness of evaluation criteria. For example, although there is widespread consensus that consistently poor classroom performance should be justification for the termination of a teacher's contract, there may be disagreement about whether or not an evaluation system should be used to make decisions about termination, because there is little agreement about the relevance, reliability, or validity of the criteria being used to assess effective performance. It is the quality and validity of these assumptions that can make the difference between an effective, credible performance-appraisal system and an ineffective system lacking in any credibility.

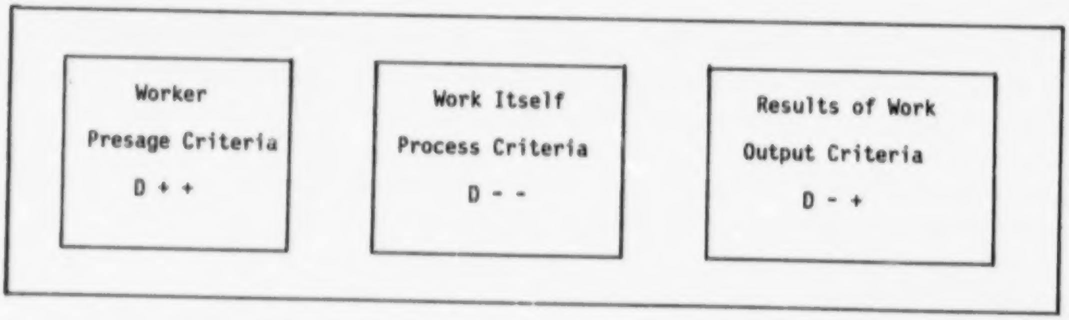
Selection of appropriate and valid evaluation criteria depends, at least in part, upon an accurate understanding of the nature of the work under consideration. That understanding will be facilitated by recalling the model of the nature of work presented in chapter 4 of this report. The point was made there that jobs are designed and accountabilities are assigned within organizations based on an understanding of the nature of the relationship between worker, work itself, and the results of work - in other words, based on an understanding of the performance equation. Specifically, the model accounts for three different types of work.

- For D - - work, the most effective and efficient practices and processes for achieving desired results are engineered by technical specialists. The work is repetitive and serves predictable needs. D - - workers are held accountable for carefully following prescribed work practices and processes.
- For D - + work, the organization knows what results workers can reasonably be expected to achieve, but the prescription of work processes and practices is either impossible, because the work situation is unpredictable, or unnecessary, because there is a wide variety of equally acceptable methods for achieving the desired results. Thus, D - + workers are held accountable for accomplishing specific and measurable results and are allowed considerable latitude regarding the means to these specific ends.
- For D + + work, the organization depends upon the worker to determine, within certain broad but circumscribed areas of practice, both the needs to be addressed by his or her work, and the most appropriate strategies for serving those needs. Because the D + + worker is expected to exercise such wide discretion regarding both the means and the ends of work, organizations cannot control the quality of D + + work by directly prescribing work processes or results. Instead, they will attempt to control the quality of this work by controlling the quality of the D + + worker, by putting great effort into ensuring that only "qualified" individuals are allowed to do the work. Control of the D + + worker, once on the job, is complex because it requires attention to five aspects of the worker's performance: diagnosis, objective setting, planning, implementation, and the achievement and evaluation of results.

The critical point here is that the performance equation varies somewhat depending upon the nature of the work involved. With D - - work, prescribed processes are assumed to be necessary and sufficient for ensuring that the desired results will obtain. In contrast, with D - + work, the organization makes little or no effort to control processes, because it cannot predict which processes would be necessary or sufficient to produce results. Instead, results themselves are taken as the only necessary and sufficient condition for, and evidence of, effective performance. Finally, the broad discretion accorded to the D + + worker, regarding both the ends and means of work, makes it impossible for organizations to control performance by directly prescribing either work processes or results. Thus the most efficient way for such organizations to ensure that D + + workers select appropriate ends and achieve them through the use of appropriate means, is to ensure that the correct worker is selected to do the job in the first place. In this way, these organizations are assuming that selection of the right worker is at least a necessary, if not entirely sufficient, condition for the effective performance of D + + work. Where the organization needs to further assure itself of the effectiveness of the D + + worker on the job performance, performance review will need to take into account the five aspects of D + + work.

These observations on the nature of work lead to an expanded version of the performance equation (see figure 3c) as presented below.

Figure 3c: Organizational context



Expanded in this manner, the performance equation may now be used to help answer the following question:

> Given the nature of the work under consideration (i.e., D - -, D - +, or D + +), how will management most efficiently and appropriately control performance, and which type of criteria is likely to be most relevant to the effective performance of that work?

School boards across Ontario have incorporated evaluation criteria and standards of varying specificity into their performance-appraisal systems.

> The form in which criteria are stated varies tremendously among boards, ranging from very brief statements (e.g., "inter-personal relationships", "planning and preparation") to lengthy lists of behaviours expected of a good teacher.

> Sometimes "criteria" are broad areas to be assessed by means of performance indicators and descriptors. At other times "criteria" are very specific indicators of competence in certain areas....Among various boards there are skills, competencies, and expectations, and there is some discussion of "presage", "process", and "product" types of criteria. This complexity is increased when the notion of standards is introduced, with standards being for some exactly what criteria are for others. (Lawton et al. 1984: 33)

Any assessment of the validity of the criteria and standards used in the performance-appraisal systems of school boards must be made in light of how the educational task and the role responsibilities of individual workers are understood, and how work is managed in those organizations. Chapters 4 and 5 have presented alternative conceptions of the nature of the educational task, and the nature of teaching work within any specific view of education. It has been suggested that the educational task may be viewed as highly rational and that teaching within rationalistic education systems may be highly prescribed with respect to work processes. In such organizations there will be a well-defined "right way" to teach (D - -); thus the establishment of performance standards stated in terms of process criteria makes good sense. Alternatively, rationalistic education systems may be highly prescriptive with respect to the results of work (D - +). With a well-defined "right" result to be achieved, it is reasonable for certain purposes to compare actual performance against performance standards which are stated as output criteria. In a third possibility, the educational task may be viewed as highly situational, needing to be tailored to meet the unique learning needs of individual clients. In systems holding this view, teachers are required to exercise a high degree of discretion with respect both to the appropriate learning objectives in any given situation at any time, and the most appropriate means of teaching (D + + work). Or, finally, it has been suggested that in education organizations where there is an absence of consensus among the membership on values, norms, and objectives, and where policy making happens at a level far removed from the actual delivery of services, de facto decentralization of power will allow teachers to exercise a high degree of discretion regarding the means and ends of their performance (D + +). Where teaching is viewed as D + + work, for whatever reason, the most effective and efficient means for controlling the quality of performance is to control the quality of workers, by standardizing the qualifications for entry into the occupational group, and by carefully screening would-be teachers against rigorous presage criteria.

6.2 A General Consideration of the Purposes of Performance Appraisal

The point has been emphasized that the valid choice of evaluation criteria for use in performance-appraisal systems must be derived from an explicit and accurate understanding of the nature of the work under consideration. This view is only half the story. The other half of the story is that the appropriate selection of evaluation criteria and procedures must, at the same time, also be a function of a clear understanding of the purpose of the appraisal system. The present section examines the impact of appraisal-system purpose on the choice of evaluation criteria and methodologies.

The following management activities are not optional in effective organizations - they are basic and essential:

- monitoring and controlling work to ensure that performance standards are satisfied;
- providing timely and useful feedback to workers about their performance on the job;
- providing workers with opportunities to develop and improve job-related skills;
- making decisions related to the compensation of employees;
- promoting qualified and appropriate workers into positions of additional or different responsibilities;
- retaining effective employees;
- dismissing ineffective employees;
- forecasting future manpower requirements, and developing strategies to ensure that the organization is staffed with appropriately qualified workers; and
- satisfying major stakeholders that the organization is effectively delivering that which it was intended to deliver.

It has been suggested earlier in this report that these activities are but a portion of a collection of essential performance-management responsibilities which do not exist as discrete and independent tasks, but rather exist in a complex of close, critical, and often sequential interrelationships. The activities listed above are essential to the many education organizations that are currently attempting to use formal performance-appraisal systems to standardize and/or improve the way they are carried out.

A brief perusal of the management activities and responsibilities listed above should lead to the recognition that it is unlikely that all these purposes would be served equally well by a single performance-appraisal mechanism. It would appear, however, that this recognition is dawning only slowly in many organizations. Confusion seems to surround the issue of whether "performance-appraisal" is actually one tool or many. Ondrack and Oliver (1984a) write:

> It is the multiple-purpose aspect of performance-appraisal that is at once its greatest strength and possibly its greatest weakness. One personnel mechanism which has the capability of serving such a multiplicity of functions becomes an attractive proposition to many organizations to co-ordinate many aspects of human resource management and general supervision. On the other hand there is a small but detectable shift in attitudes beginning to develop which suggests that attempting to utilize performance-appraisal for a variety of functions augments its complexities and ultimately causes most difficulties which arise in devising an optimal system. (pp. 32-33)

Demonstrating this shift in attitudes, Darling-Hammond, Wise, and Pease (1984) note that

> there are particular difficulties in integrating the requirements of an evaluation policy geared toward job status decisions with those of a policy aimed at improving teaching. It is one thing to define and measure teacher competence in a standardized fashion; it is quite another to change teacher performance. Research on individual and organizational behaviour suggests that first-order solutions are unlikely to effect change, and further, that successful approaches involve processes that may be inconsistent with those used to derive summative evaluation judgements. That is, the context-free generalization necessary for implementing a uniform evaluation system may counteract the context-specific processes needed to effect change in individual or organizational behaviours. (pp. 287-288)

The broad category of "performance appraisal" is more productively conceived of as including a number of fairly distinct mechanisms, each designed to handle some distinct area(s) of management responsibility. Any effort to determine which type of performance-appraisal system to use should be made in light of a clear understanding of why performance needs to be appraised. This is not to suggest that a single performance-appraisal system may serve only one purpose. The point is that, to a large extent, performance-appraisal systems are information-gathering and processing systems; that is, they systematize the collection of some specific and limited body of information about performance for some specific purpose. Multiple purposes can be served by a single system only when those purposes have compatible information requirements.

Performance-appraisal systems must be internally consistent as well; that is, the key elements of the system - purpose, criteria, and processes - must be compatible with one another. This compatibility can be assured only where decisions related to the design of performance-appraisal systems are made in the correct sequence. Specifically, the following questions must be asked and answered in sequence:

- What is the primary purpose to be served by this performance-appraisal system in this organization?
- What does the organization need to know - that is, what information about performance is required - in order to serve this purpose?
- What is the most efficient and most effective process for collecting this information?

Too many performance-appraisal systems have been of only the most limited value because their planners have been wedded to some faddish appraisal process or some preconceived appraisal criteria, and have failed to recognize the necessity for making design-related decisions in this logical sequence.

Recommendation

13. The relationships among appraisal purposes, appraisal methodologies, appraisal criteria,

and the nature of work should be regarded as critical by those charged with the responsibility for appraisal-system design.

6.3 Using Performance-Appraisal Systems to Select Employees

Every organization requires strategies for selecting the best-qualified candidates for job vacancies from among all those who seek employment. In order to establish meaningful selection criteria for new personnel, an organization must first be able to specify what will constitute effective performance on the job, and then specify the skills, knowledge, and attitudes which are considered to be prequisites for effective performance.

Presage or competency criteria will inform selection decisions - for hiring new workers, for transfers, or for promotions, regardless of whether the position in question most closely resembles D - -, D - +, or D + + work. As demonstrated in chapter 4, the critical impact that the nature of work has on hiring decisions has to do with the fact that, for some types of work (i.e., D + + work), employee selection represents the organization's most powerful and efficient performance-control mechanism, whereas for other types of work (i.e., D - - and D - + work) the organization has some relatively straightforward alternatives for control of performance on the job. While nearly every organization will make efforts to ensure that only "qualified" workers are selected, organizations that must select people to do D + + work tend to develop more rigorous screening strategies.

The selection task may be somewhat simplified where an organization employs only certified "professionals", because the competence of such workers will have been assessed by a certifying body which has the exclusive right to confer the licences or certificates required for employment as practitioners of the trade or profession. Thus organizations may believe that an applicant holding an appropriate licence or certificate automatically satisfies a significant number of presage criteria.

Teachers and educational administrators are among the "licensed" occupational groups which require certification in order to practise their trade or profession. At this time the requirements for teacher and educational-administrator certification vary from state to state in the United States and province to province in Canada. In recent years, largely in response to a much-publicized decline in student performance on standardized achievement measures, and a concommitant loss of confidence in teacher-training institutions and teacher-certification processes, a growing number of U.S. states have sought to make teacher-certification processes more rigorous.

Many of the efforts to assess the competency of prospective teachers have relied on the use of pencil-and-paper tests of teacher knowledge. In a survey conducted in 1980, 20% of U.S. states reported requiring some form of competency testing for prospective teachers (Northern 1980); since that time the number of states legislating the use of teacher testing has increased substantially. Some of these states are using externally produced examinations, while others are developing examinations locally.

Support for the testing of prospective teachers has been far from unanimous. The National Education Association, while claiming that it supports rigorous licensing procedures for prospective teachers, has taken a definite stand against the use of competency tests for certifying teachers. In contrast, the American Federation of Teachers, a labour union, has passed a resolution supporting the use of written examinations to qualify new teachers.

Supporters of the use of teacher tests argue that the tests are

> uniform measures of the same mental tasks expressed on a scale common to all who have taken them. The tests are seen as "levelling" or "democratizing" agents, which cut across local institutional differences and give certification officers the opportunity to assess teachers' abilities on a common yardstick. (Harris 1981: 62)

Competency tests are claimed to be at least as effective, accessible, and comprehensive as, and more cost-effective than, any other available means for weeding out those prospective teachers who would be intellectually unfit to teach.

Those who argue against the use of teacher tests contend that many of the tests being used have "no other purpose than to prove the competence of teacher candidates in basic skills", and suggest that

> minimum competency testing of teachers can serve only to single out the most egregiously incompetent - and to antagonize or insult the great majority. (Gudridge 1980: 17)

Most importantly, they argue that adequate tests which can predict who will make a good teacher do not exist. Schalock (1979) concludes from his review of research on teaching effectiveness that

> while knowledge of content to be taught and knowledge of methods used in teaching content to be taught to others obviously are necessary for success in teaching, it appears that knowledge alone is not sufficient to measure success. (p. 22)

Taking the position that knowledge alone, as indicated by test scores, is necessary but not sufficient to predict who will be effective in the classroom, the State of Georgia's Department of Education has made adequate scores on a written competency examination only one component of their lengthy teacher-certification process. Prospective teachers in that state have one year in which to pass written examinations. Those who successfully complete these examinations are issued non-renewable probationary teaching certificates, which are valid only for three years. Essentially, Georgia has created a state-supervised period of apprenticeship for teachers, over and above any requirements for supervised student teaching managed by the teacher-preparation institutions. During the three-year probationary period, new teachers are observed repeatedly by teams of trained evaluators, who determine whether or not the teaching observed provides evidence of 14 generic teaching competencies. This list of competencies, compiled by the state's Department of Education and based on a review of research on teacher effectiveness, purportedly represents a comprehensive set of observable, valid, and reliable criteria of effective teaching practice. During the probationary period, teachers who appear to be having difficulty are provided with feedback and assistance in an effort to help them develop the requisite skills; however, all those unable to demonstrate these competencies in the course of observations over three years are terminated, and are no longer eligible to teach in the State of Georgia.

The growing commitment to increase the rigor with which candidates for teaching positions are screened is understandable and laudable, especially where teaching work is viewed as D + + activity. The point has already been made in this report that the quality of D + + work is most effectively and efficiently controlled by controlling the quality of D + + workers - that is, by ensuring that only those persons possessing the skills, knowledge, and attitudes essential for effective performance on the job are employed in the first place. However, it is critical to recognize that the value of more rigorous screening practices will be, in large measure, a function of the extent to which selected presage criteria are valid predictors of effective performance, as well as the reliability of the techniques used to assess candidate competencies.

Thus, for an education organization to effectively use presage criteria to screen and make selections among potential teachers and administrators, it must first have a clear understanding of what constitutes effective teacher or administrator performance in that organization. Where student learning, generally or specifically described, is seen as a critical and essential outcome of teaching practice, then some understanding of how teaching contributes to that student learning must at least inform the organization's definition of effective teaching practice. Finally, knowing what constitutes effective teaching practice is one thing; knowing what skills, knowledge, and attitudes are likely to predict effective teaching practice is another. There is evidence to suggest that current notions of generic competencies have not been fully supported by research so far. Based on a review of research in teacher-selection practices, Shalock (1979) concluded that teacher attributes, such as knowledge about teaching, performance on ability tests, personality traits, and other proxy measures of effectiveness, bore little or no relationship to the criterion of student attainment.

Our reading and discussions with education experts across Ontario reveal a lack of consensus on what constitutes an appropriate balance among desirable educational outcomes. At the same time Ontario, like other jurisdictions across North America, appears to be populated with educators who are convinced that they know what constitutes effective teaching practice, and others who are convinced that the research on effective teaching is far too inconclusive to be used to generate any yardsticks for performance at this time. It is probably safe to bet that less is known about effective teaching practice than some would believe, and that more is known than others are willing to admit. The critical point here is that, where conflicting assumptions about appropriate educational outcomes and appropriate teaching practices have not been explicit nor subjected to constructive, critical examination, one may expect to find inconsistent policy and practice in education organizations.

A simple logic underlies many of the current initiatives to screen prospective teachers more vigorously.

> If it is a reasonable expectation that new teachers ought to be able to read and write sentences, recognize common words, add, subtract and multiply numbers, with at least average proficiency, then discovery that such skills are not average and have diminished would be cause for alarm. The education profession must be able to make the claim that its members are competent in the basics they are teaching, because it is a reasonable presumption that such competencies are necessary for effective teaching. (Weaver 1979: 30)

There is much to be said for applying common sense and intuition about what is important to the screening of applicants for a job; however, the current legislative climate necessitates a somewhat more hard-nosed approach when it comes to denying individuals the right to work in their chosen fields. Specifically, human rights legislation makes it generally unlawful to discriminate against workers based on race, religion, sex, age, national or ethnic origin, or mental or physical disability, unless the discrimination is based upon a bona fide occupational requirement. Thus, for example, while a "high-energy" level may seem a logical requirement for a teacher who must keep up with class of seven-year-olds, an organization that would weed out prospective teachers over the age of 50, because it assumed that older people have lower energy levels, would be in violation of the law, unless there was solid empirical evidence to document the connection between teaching effectiveness and age.

On the other hand, it should be noted that the new Human Rights Code of Canada does not appear to preclude the right of Separate School Boards to make certain discriminations among some employees and would-be employees. The argument is made that, within Separate Schools, the duties of the teacher include religious instruction, influence, and role-modelling.

> It would seem that teachers will continue to be considered peculiarly essential to the maintenance of the religious "integrity" or ambience of separate schools. Thus employment decisions made for denominational reasons will probably be exempted from the effect of the (Human Rights) Code where they affect teachers. In regard to non-teaching employees the situation may be different. (Keene 1983: 171)

The recently announced decision of the Province to extend full funding to Separate School Board secondary schools makes it a certainty that the issues related to the unique presage requirements for teachers in the separate school system will be energetically debated and tested in the courts for years to come.

Recommendation

14. Educators need to be encouraged to engage in productive dialogue in which their conflicting certainties about what constitutes effective teaching may be aired and examined. The responsibility for providing formal opportunities for such dialogue resides with the senior management of education.

15. The Ministry should review current-teacher education programs in the Province to assess the degree to which teacher candidates are being prepared to perform in a way that is consistent with the Ministry's view of the nature of teaching.

16. The Ministry should review current criteria and standards for teacher certification and for the awarding of specialist credentials, in order to determine whether those criteria and standards adequately reflect the Ministry's view and understanding of the nature of teaching work.

17. Personnel-selection practices in school boards should be reviewed, in light of the job descriptions, in order to ensure that the presage criteria used in selection practices are based on an assessment of the skills, knowledge, and attitudes likely to be required for effective performance of the job in question.

6.4 Using Performance-Appraisal Systems for Performance Monitoring and Feedback

The literature on performance-appraisal is swollen with debate over whether performance-appraisal systems should concentrate on serving formative or summative purposes, or both. Formative purposes, in general, refer to the intent to use appraisal information in order to promote the improvement and development of personnel, while summative purposes generally imply the intent to use appraisal information to inform administrative decisions that may affect the status of the employee (e.g., tenure, promotion, dismissal, or compensation). Advocates of one position or the other argue fervently and convincingly for the need to develop appraisal systems that are appropriate to either end; they correctly point out that formative and summative purposes each require different information.

The formative/summative debate, unfortunately, too often obscures the real purpose for the development and implementation of formal appraisal systems in many organizations. Management requires performance-monitoring control mechanisms by which it can ensure that the work that is done by employees is consistent with, and appropriate to, the purposes, practices, and standards of the organization. If, in any given organizational setting, it is not possible to understand and/or describe how work is to be controlled, then work is out of control, and it will be neither fair nor hardly possible to appropriately describe how it should be evaluated for purposes of tenure, dismissal, improvement, compensation, or accountability.

The most efficient way to control performance, whether that performance is packing widgets, twelve to a box, or teaching trigonometry to Grade 12 students, is to design the work in such a way that it is self-regulating; that is, so that the person best able to make the first "appraisal" (i.e., to make the first judgement about appropriateness of work) is the person doing the work. The more that judgements about the appropriateness of performance have to be made external to the worker, the less effective and efficient the work is likely to be. Self-regulation and appraisal, however, require two important types of information: information about what is expected of the worker, and information about how the worker is doing relative to those expectations. The more explicit these expectations are made, the better able the worker is to regulate his or her own performance. Thus, more effective organizations are as explicit as possible about the expectations held for workers. These expectations may be expressed as the set of performance standards held for the employees.

A worker's immediate supervisor or manager is usually responsible for communicating the organization's expectations about the performance of work and the standards by which that work will be judged, and for specifying the consequences of work performed well or badly - the organization's formal systems of rewards and punishments. Two types of expectations about the performance of workers are commonly held by most organizations: those related to the tasks that workers are expected to perform or the results they are expected to accomplish, and those related to the personal behaviours that will positively or negatively affect their relationships with others in the workplace. Levinson (1976) describes the latter as "the emotional and behavioural topography of the task to be done by the individual on the job".

Written job descriptions, broad as they usually are, may be a starting point for the clarification of roles and responsibilities; however, because traditional job descriptions are often generally relevant to all workers in an occupational category, rather than situationally relevant to an individual worker in a specific period of time and in relationships with specific colleagues, workers may need additional clarification about what they are expected to do or accomplish, how well they are expected to do, and how they are expected to behave. Greater clarification about role responsibilities and performance standards may be provided through periodic meetings of supervisors and workers where job objectives (either in terms of activities or outcomes) for a specified period are established. Given a clear understanding of what results or activities are expected of him or her, a worker bases judgements of how well he or she is doing upon information available both informally and formally from the supervisor, as well as from colleagues, subordinates, and clients - both internal and external. This information is referred to as feedback.

Webber (1975) states that "one of the most striking attributes of American management is the widespread application of the feedback control process to all kinds of people and of the feedback control process to all kinds of people and positions," throughout all levels of organizations. He gives this example of the simple control cycle between a manager and production worker.

> The feedback process in this instance might work as follows for Sid Blomberg, a punch-press operator:

> 1. An individual engineer defines management's specific goal for Sid's output on the punch press: 10 widgets per hour, 70 per day, 350 per week.
>
> 2. Each day, a clerk counts the actual number that Sid completes.
>
> 3. On Monday morning, Sid's total production for the past week is reported to the foreman, who compares expected and actual performance.
>
> 4. The foreman decides:
>
> a) If Sid produced 35 widgets or more, he does nothing (and if Sid turned out 400 he might compliment him).
>
> b) If Sid produced 285, the foreman would probably chew him out and warn him to increase his output. Before doing this, however, the foreman should investigate to determine if the expected standard was valid for last week, whether the material was different from usual, or whether Sid experienced equipment problems.
>
> c) If conditions were non-standard and the expected performance was unrealistic, then the foreman would probably take steps to see that Sid is not punished for last week's output. If the non-standard conditions will continue, the foreman will see that the expected goal is modified. (p. 315)

As illustrated above, beyond the responsibility for clarifying an organization's expectations of the worker to the worker, supervisors are also commonly expected to monitor the work of those in their unit, and make interventions as required, in order to ensure that what should be going on is going on. Failure to monitor performance makes it difficult to provide "preventative" supervision. In unmonitored work situations performance, problems may compound, yet escape attention until they become serious enough to disrupt the organization. In contrast, where performance is regularly monitored, supervisors may intervene in a timely manner to help workers get "back on track" before they cause themselves or the organization any serious harm.

Supervisors are expected to develop opinions about what they see in the course of monitoring the performance of individuals in their units. As a consequence of performance monitoring, a supervisor may identify the need for changes in the organization: for example, resources may need to be allocated differently, tasks may require redesigning for greater efficiency, standards for performance may need to be adjusted, or the work load may need to be redistributed. A supervisor may also spot the necessity for changes in relation to individual workers - that is, they may determine that some individual's performance is below standard and in need of remediation or discipline; that another's performance meets standards and needs to be reinforced, revitalized, or stimulated to improve; or that yet another's performance exceeds standards and should be rewarded. In fact, supervisors usually will not only be expected to form these opinions, but will also be held accountable for taking actions based on them. By ensuring that the appropriate organizational adjustments are made to keep workers and the operations under their aegis on course, supervisors and managers fulfil their responsibility for steering their units towards organizational objectives.

It must be noted, however, that there is variation in the authority accorded to supervisors to take action as a consequence of the judgements they make during monitoring. In some private-sector organizations, supervisors have considerable authority to deliver rewards and sanctions commensurate with their judgements of worker performance. In contrast, in most public-sector organizations and in those organizations where the interests of workers are represented by well-organized labour groups, major restrictions are placed on the managerial prerogatives of supervisors. These restrictions significantly augment the difficulty and complexity of the supervisory task, placing great weight on the human-relations skills of supervisors.

The ability of supervisors and managers to take action based on the judgements they make during performance monitoring is also limited by the expertise of the individual filling the supervisory position. Supervisors will not always be expert in the work they oversee. For example, consider the supervisory responsibilities of the co-ordinator of a multidisciplinary research project. This co-ordinator may be the person best able to assess whether individual members of the research team are producing the results required by the project (i.e., completing sections of a research report, according to specifications and on time); however, he or she may not be able to show the project statistician how to solve a complex mathematical problem that is preventing him or her from completing a section of the report on time. In this case, to fulfil his or her obligation to intervene in order to keep work on the proper course, the supervisor must ensure that the statistician has the opportunity to communicate with other expert mathematicians who will be able to help find a solution to the statistical problem. The main point here is that the responsibility for timely and supportive monitoring of the performance of subordinates frequently constitutes a major area of accountability for those who supervise the work of others.

In many organizations, the clarification of expectations and the provision of regular feedback about performance is handled informally. However, in some organizations, these processes are formalized, systematized, and called "planned feedback" or sometimes "performance appraisal". Ondrack and Oliver (1984a) thus see monitoring and control as one of the primary purposes of some performance-appraisal systems.

> An employee's performance can be judged or rated against standards which articulate an organization's expectations of how an employee should perform his or her job, in order to ensure acceptable performance and to identify deviations from expected behaviour....
>
> The control process, in general, occurs simultaneously at the individual and organizational level so that evaluation can incorporate an assessment not only of individual performance, but also of the fit or congruence of the individual's performance with the objectives, programs, and policies of the organization as a whole. Appraisal in this way provides the means for confirming that organizational goals or programs are being appropriately implemented by persons who are expected to contribute to their achievement. (pp. 28-29).

Where performance-appraisal systems are installed in order to systematize and standardize the monitoring responsibility of supervisors, then formative or summative purposes are truly secondary concerns. Actions to stimulate the improvement and/or growth of a worker, or personnel decisions made which affect the employment status of an employee, all need to be taken as a consequence of well-founded supervisory judgements about how the needs of the organization may best be served. So too, must actions or decisions to alter organization policy or practice be taken as a consequence of information gathered through systematic supervision. In this sense, personnel-appraisal systems which monitor performance may be seen as a mechanism for telling the organization much of what it needs to know about the work of the organization, and not just about the performance of individual workers.

Where an organization lacks confidence in established supervisory practices or has no alternative and adequate method of ensuring that effective monitoring is taking place, the use of a formal performance-appraisal system, developed to standardize this aspect of supervision, makes good sense. In such situations, in fact, any other use of performance-appraisal systems would be premature, for, as already noted, formative and summative actions need to be taken as a consequence of sound supervisory judgement.

Implicit in the notion that supervisors monitor work in order to ensure a match between expected and actual performance, is the assumption that standards of appropriate performance exist. Standards for performance need to be tied to the organization's understanding of what the job entails, and how well the job must be done to allow the organization as a whole to achieve its corporate standards.

As we have suggested in chapter 4, the primary nature of a given job (D - -, D - +, or D + +) bears critical implications for the type of performance expectations held for a given job. In D - - work, performance expectations are most appropriately stated in terms of required activities and behaviours. The worker is told quite precisely what he or she is expected to do and how well; these expectations and performance standards are expressed as process criteria. Monitoring of D - - performance is done by observation of the worker on the job. Observed performance is rated against performance standards stated as process criteria.

In D - + work, expectations are stated in terms of required results. The worker is told as precisely as possible what he or she is expected to accomplish, and the standards by which results shall be judged. Usually these expectations about results will be quantifiable, or in some other way measurable. Monitoring of D - + work calls for the assessment and/or measurement of results compared with prescribed output criteria. The point has been made, however, that while the focus of D - + work is on results, not any means to these ends will do. Thus, constraints on the discretion of workers regarding processes must be made explicit, as well. Where an organization has cause to doubt that an employee is respecting these limits on discretion, observation of the worker on the job may be appropriate. Monitoring by observation, it should be noted, is most likely to be done on an exceptional basis for D - + work.

In D + + work, neither the processes of work nor the results will have been specified, except in the most general terms. Based on their diagnosis of the unique situation presented on the job, D + + workers are expected to develop situationally relevant goals and performance standards that are congruent with the broader, general goals and performance standards of the organization. They are expected to devise and effectively implement workplans to achieve those goals. Finally, they are expected to produce results that are consistent with these situationally relevant goals and standards. The minimal requirement for the monitoring of D + + work, then, requires an assessment of the goals and standards established by the worker to ensure that these are consistent with the broader goals of the organization, and then an assessment of the results of the work to ensure that these are reasonably consistent with the expected results. Thus, at the bottom line, D + + work is most appropriately and efficiently monitored by paying closer attention to results or outputs than to processes. What distinguishes the outputs-focused monitoring of D + + work from the monitoring of D - + work is that in the former case the worker is required to provide the yardstick which will measure his or her own effectiveness, while in the latter case the management of the organization generally retains responsibility for setting the standards for performance. It is important to note that, just as in the case of D - + work, limits will be placed on the discretion to be exercised by D + + workers. Where organizations have made these limits explicit, performance on the job may be scrutinized when there is cause to believe that those limits have been disregarded. Again, this type of monitoring is most likely to be done on an exceptional rather than on a regular basis.

At this point it is important to note that, regardless of the nature of the work under consideration, too much management control can be just as deleterious to the functioning of an organization as too little. Hersey and Blanchard (1976) suggest that the criterion of worker maturity should determine the level of supervisory control.

> Effective leaders must know their staffs well enough to meet their ever-changing abilities and the demands upon them.... While a leader may use a specific style for the work group as a group, that leader may quite often have to behave differently with individual (workers) because the group is not mature or immature in any total sense. People tend to have varying degrees of maturity depending on the specific task, function, or objective that a leader is attempting to accomplish through their efforts. (p. 2)

In their review of performance-appraisal practices in professional organizations, Ondrack and Oliver (1984b) found that most organizations had implicit systems of different approaches to appraisal for different stages in a professional's career.

> A multifaceted approach (to appraisal) avoids the problem of overburdening everyone in the hierarchy with having to go through the administrative bureaucracy of appraisal methods which are not appropriate for different types of work. (p. 168)

6.5 Issues Related to Performance Monitoring in Education Organizations

The main point of the preceding section is that monitoring and feedback are essential and critical components of performance management. Effective organizations do not debate whether or not work shall be monitored; they debate over the most appropriate ways of doing so. Thus the question that arises for education policy makers is not whether or not monitoring and control are necessary or desirable in education organizations, but whether or not formal and standardized performance-appraisal systems are the most appropriate means for ensuring that the monitoring and control function is carried out.

In the Ontario education system, principals are obliged by law to supervise instruction and assist teachers as required (Ont. Reg. 262/82,12 (3)), while Supervisory Officers, as their title implies, also are accountable for overseeing the schools in their area of control (i.e., section 250 of the Education Act 1974). Results of a survey of performance-appraisal policies and practices in Ontario school boards, recently conducted by Lawton et al. (1984), reveal that 73% of all school boards in this province have adopted performance-appraisal policies for teacher evaluation, 53% for principal evaluation, 42% for superintendent evaluation, and 36% for the appraisal of the performance of directors. Sorting appraisal policies by purpose, the OISE (Ontario Institute for Studies in Education) team determined that the language used by school boards to describe the purposes of their appraisal policies lacks consistency.

> Four sets of distinctions (summative/formative, administrative/non-administrative, supervision/evaluation, and classroom/comprehensive)...involve terms in very common use in the province's policies and procedures for the performance appraisal of teachers. The fact that there is diversity among boards in usage of the terms makes cross-board comparisons and the assignment of boards to a small number of categories or "types" with similar systems very difficult. (p. 54)

Nevertheless, survey results indicate that the great majority of these appraisal policies are mainly "developmental" in avowed intent, while very few are intended to serve "administrative" purposes solely.

It is not possible to determine from the OISE data how many school boards in Ontario actually rely on their performance-appraisal systems to ensure adequate supervision in terms of monitoring of, and feedback on, performance. Conceivably, despite the fact that the stated intent of the majority of these appraisal policies and practices is personnel "improvement", many of these appraisal systems may actually represent the organizations only concerted effort to ensure that workers know what is expected of them, and that workers have the feedback and supervisors the information required to maintain or raise performance to satisfactory levels. In other words, performance monitoring might, at this time, represent a somewhat "hidden agenda" behind "formative" performance-appraisal systems. If this is so, it is imperative to question whether or not "formative" systems can effectively provide the information required for performance monitoring. If this is not so, it is imperative to ask how the responsiblity for performance monitoring is being handled at this time.

A majority of performance-appraisal systems used in education organizations across North America today rely almost exclusively on the observation of teaching performance in the classroom. This is the approach most generally favoured by teachers in Ontario. In their survey of teacher performance-appraisal practices in this province, Lawton et al. (1984) found that nearly 86% of teachers surveyed believed "teachers' classroom performance" was the most appropriate criterion on which teacher evaluations should be based, and 78% believed that observation ought always to be used to collect information on performance. In order that observation of classroom performance be a meaningful method for monitoring teaching effectiveness, one must believe that enough is known about teaching work so that practices and behaviours required for effective work can be prescribed and observed; in other words, teaching must be viewed as D - - work. In this view of teaching, observation will tell the observer whether or not what should be happening is in fact happening. It is highly significant, then, to note that Lawton et al. (1984) report that 25% of teachers surveyed believe current appraisal procedures, which revolve largely around observations of classroom performance, require "excessive conformity to a single model of what it means to be a good teacher". He concludes that "in some regards (appraisal) policies may be too specific - or specific about criteria or standards about which substantial numbers of teachers disagree."

From much of what we have read and heard over the course of the present research contract we have developed the impression that a majority of those in the education establishment of Ontario today would reject a D - - view of teaching; that, in fact, most would favour a D + + view. This observation may explain the dissatisfaction that many of the surveyed teachers expressed with regard to prescriptive process criteria. If one takes the view that teaching is D + + work, then both the situational nature of the work itself and the relative lack of consensus about normative teaching technology would suggest that the teacher must exercise considerable discretion with respect to the ends and to the means of work. This would lessen the use of prescriptive process criteria for performance monitoring. It would also, it must be noted, lessen monitoring performance based on the observation of work in progress.

In light of the possibility that many performance-appraisal systems used by education organizations actually bear the burden for monitoring personnel performance, we are intrigued by the hold that teacher observation, as the preferred appraisal method, appears to have on the education establishment. In the hope of provoking some useful discussion among educators we have arrived, tentatively, at one hypothesis to explain this apparent contradiction.

It will be recalled that in the chapter on the nature of work (chapter 4) it was suggested that preparation for D + + work usually consists of a lengthy and rigorous period of training, comprised of two distinct but related phases: 1) a formal period of academic training (which may be minimal for artisans), and 2) a supervised internship or apprenticeship. Generally, only when both phases have been successfully completed is the professional or artisan certified to practise his or her profession or craft.

In numerous discussions with education experts across Ontario, held in the course of the present research project, the charge was laid that current teacher-training programs provide less-than-adequate opportunities for prospective teachers to become truly and fully prepared to teach. Both the quantity and quality of the academic and "apprenticeship" components of these programs have been criticized. The perception that teacher-training programs fall short of some standard for adequate professional training is not unique to Ontario. McDaniel (1982) notes that

> few would argue that the professional preparation of teachers is "long" when compared to prototype professions like medicine and law. The bachelor's degree is considered adequate, and most teachers begin teaching with no more than a baccalaureate degree....Real progress has been made in terms of formal education of teachers in the last decade, but the specialized training of teachers still represents a relatively small proportion of a four-year undergraduate program - typically one or two semesters of professional preparation. (p. 74)

It is claimed that, to a significant degree, teachers have to learn to teach on their own, on the job; that, in fact, teachers must manage their own unofficial internship. This self-managed internship is apparently of indeterminate duration. Such a view of the teacher-making process raises two significant problems concerning the purposes of performance-appraisal systems in education.

First, if teachers are expected to manage their own development, on what basis can there be any justification for producing post hoc standards for monitoring performance? Teachers in such circumstances are understandably likely to adopt a stance of "Where were you when I needed you?" to the imposition of performance standards through a performance-appraisal system. Second, given the indeterminate duration of the self-development process, at what point is it appropriate to treat teachers as though they are both fully qualified, and wholly accountable for their performance, however defined?

The uncertainty created by the situation just described may be what is behind teachers' insistence that evaluation systems serve formative purposes only. Given the absence of adequate teacher-preparation programs, performance appraisal may be seen as a substitute for the supervised internship period of other professions. The popularity of process-based performance-appraisal systems such as those developed by Manatt (1976) and Redfern (1980), which emphasize the development of specific teacher skills and focus on the observation of teaching behaviour in the classroom, make sense, given a view of teachers as being less than fully qualified or mature professionals. The clinical supervision model of appraisal, in which teachers set their own growth objectives, would appear to be an especially appropriate way for doing formative evaluation, given the view that teachers have, perhaps by default, been expected to develop criteria or standards of effective performance for themselves.

However, this focus on classroom observation and professional development raises at least one critical question that must be answered by educators. If performance-appraisal systems are not expected to monitor performance, but only to foster "professional development", then precisely how and when will performance be monitored; that is, how will it be determined that teaching is on the mark, and not missing it entirely?

There are, of course, other explanations for the fact that teacher performance-appraisal practices have focused on process criteria and classroom observation. One of the most compelling is, simply put, that the alternative - focusing on the results of teaching - has been deemed to be impossible, impractical, or impolitic. Indeed, that point of view is amply represented in the literature on teacher evaluation. The arguments against using student achievement as a yardstick for teacher effectiveness fall mainly in four categories.

First, it is argued that the impact of teachers on student achievement is so limited as to render the use of student-achievement data invalid for the evaluation of teacher effectiveness. McKenna (in Soar, 1975) notes that

> the nature of student populations is so varied the outcomes are often more influenced by those variables than by what teachers do. Gene Glass, noted researcher, reminds us:
>
> > Nothing short of random assignment of pupils to teachers as an iron-clad administrative necessity will ensure that the teachers were in a fair race to produce pupil gains. (p. 4)

Second, a host of conditions beyond the control of the teacher are seen as having a major influence on what goes on in the classroom and on student achievement.

> Among them are: the number of students teachers must work with each day; time available to teach; planning time; up-to-dateness of curriculum; appropriateness of materials and media; students' physical and emotional readiness for learning; opportunity for teacher in-service education; and most important, decision-making power on curriculum matters. (Ibid.)

Third, the most commonly used measures of student achievement are deemed to be inadequate reflections of student performance, relative to the most important objectives of education. Thus McKenna charges

> (Student achievement) tests themselves are inadequate for (assessing student achievement). Banesh Hoffman has put it well:
>
> > There is no generally satisfactory method of evaluating human abilities and capabilities....Rough superficial evaluations are of course possible....But the detection and evaluation of other than superficial ability is inevitably an art demanding insight, taste, and knowledge. Current attempts to reduce it to a science and then mechanize it are not only dangerous but in a profound sense unscientific. (Ibid.)

Darling-Hammond (1984) also attacks the use of standardized student-achievement data in the assessment of teaching performance. Referring to a proliferation of teacher-evaluation schemes based on the assessment of student-achievement, she writes

> That measure - student scores on standardized multiple-choice achievement tests - is used to establish that we don't have excellence (in education) now, and it will be the means for knowing when we have excellence once again.
>
> There is only one problem with this measure. It is largely unrelated to most of the things that we say we want when we set out in pursuit of educational excellence....
>
> Using standardized tests as the sole measure of educational excellence...is ill-suited to the goal. Standardized, multiple-choice achievement tests do not, of course, measure creativity. They assess one's ability to find what someone else has already decided is the one best answer to a predetermined question. The tests do not measure the most important aspects of problem-solving ability - the ability to consider and evaluate alternatives, to speculate on the meaning of an idea based on first-hand knowledge of the world, to synthesize and interpret diverse kinds of information, to develop original solutions to problems....
>
> Standardized tests turn out to be a very narrow gauge of what students actually know, either individually or collectively. (p. 57)

Finally, it is argued that when teachers are evaluated on the basis of scores obtained by students on a narrow band of tests, teachers will "teach to the tests, for the tests, and the tests themselves".

> Unfortunately when standardized tests are used as management-control devices...a set of bureaucratic incentives is created that distorts the educational process as well as the curriculum. Rather than being a sample of what students know, test items soon become the universe of what is taught and learned. This is true not only of the topics that are tested but also of the types of thinking and the modes of performance required by the tests....
>
> The more a school district designs its curriculum around standardized tests, the less teachers are encouraged or even allowed to spend time on nontested subjects (science and social studies are big losers here, along with the arts) or on nontested activities, such as writing, speaking, problem-solving or real reading of real books. (Ibid.)

That the use of student-achievement data, of any sort, in the evaluation of teachers for any purpose, is unpopular with the teachers of Ontario is clearly documented in the research of Lawton et al. (1984). Less than 19% of teachers surveyed believed that student academic achievement was an appropriate criteria for teacher evaluation. Less than 21% thought that samples of student work should be part of the information base for teacher evaluations, and only 2% thought that student scores on standardized tests should be looked at.

It would appear that the ideal performance-appraisal system, from the point of view of Ontario teachers, would largely ignore output criteria, and would focus primarily on process criteria; however, the ideal process criteria would not be very prescriptive, because there remains significant disagreement among teachers about what constitutes appropriate and effective teaching processes. This proviso presents a critical problem for the management of performance in education. A monitoring scheme that would focus on process, but not prescribe it, contradicts or excludes all of the performance-monitoring options suggested by the model of performance management presented in this report. A performance-management scheme that holds teachers accountable neither for prescribed classroom practices, nor for the results of teaching in terms of student achievement, renders educational management powerless to control the direction or quality of services provided by the organization, and incapable of being accountable to the stakeholders who must provide support for educational services.

Thus, if performance is to be monitored in education organizations (and we would suggest that this is essential), then educators appear to be faced with having to make some difficult choices and compromises among some less-than-ideal alternatives - choices and compromises that will allow management to manage and will give teachers a clear understanding of what is expected of them. Those choices should be determined, in large measure, by how teaching is viewed.

If teaching is viewed as D - - work and is to be monitored only through the observation of teaching processes in the classroom, then management must be prepared to take responsibility for describing what effective teaching practices look like, and teachers must be prepared to live with and constrain their classroom behaviours and activities according to those prescribed processes. The more prescriptive the processes, the more "objective" performance monitoring will be. Teachers unwilling or unable to conform to the prescribed model of effective teaching will have to be removed from the system. In this scenario, so long as the classroom performance of teachers is systematically monitored, and so long as teachers consistently do "as they have been told to do", the responsibility for what students learn and how well they learn resides primarily with management.

If, on the other hand, teaching is viewed as D - + work, and it is held that teachers must be left free to practise as they see fit, so long as they can demonstrate that their students have attained certain centrally prescribed levels of achievement, then management must clearly prescribe those outcomes and tell how achievements will be measured and monitored. The outcome criteria and standards set by management must be reasonable and achievable; if not, the teaching force will become quickly demoralized. Complex statistical manipulations of student-achievement data will be required if this approach is to make any accommodations for the different challenges faced by teachers in different teaching situations. In this scenario, management cannot and should not expect or promise that teachers will pursue the development in students of any skills, knowledge, or attitudes that are not measured by the performance-monitoring system - rather, teachers should be expected to "teach to the test", with management bearing the responsibility for ensuring that the "test" is an accurate reflection of the mission of the educational enterprise.

Finally, it is necessary to consider the performance-monitoring options that are available if teaching is viewed as D + + work. It has been explained that D + + teaching work comprises five aspects: assessment of the learning needs of students; setting of situationally appropriate learning objectives based on that diagnosis; the development of plans to achieve those learning objectives; the implementation of workplans; and finally, the assessment of student-learning results in relation to intended objectives.

Any checks on D + + performance can be only as precise as the organization's understanding of appropriate performance in the component parts of D + + work. Because D + + teaching requires that teachers establish student-learning objectives based on an accurate diagnosis of student ability and interest levels, a check on the appropriateness of diagnoses would require the existence of some standards of what constitutes effective and appropriate assessment techniques. Because the objectives set by teachers are expected not only to be appropriate in light of their assessment of learning needs, but also consistent with organizational goals and standards for instruction, then goals and standards which describe the boundaries within which discretion may be exercised must exist and must be clearly communicated to teachers.

In addition to checking the appropriateness of objectives set by the teacher, the monitoring of D + + teaching performance requires the assessment of student-learning results to ensure that these are more or less consistent with the objectives that were set in the first place. This necessity brings us back to the previously identified issues associated with the use of student-achievement data. These are complex issues; a full examination of them is beyond the scope of the present report. Yet it is pertinent to indicate here that, when student achievement is assessed in light of a D + + view of teaching, many of the problems associated with using student-achievement data as a reflection of teacher effectiveness would appear to be at least reduced, if not eliminated entirely. For example, as long as the student-learning objectives set by a teacher were consistent with the broader goals and objectives of the organization, a D + + view of teaching would not support the prescription of student-learning objectives by anyone other than the teacher. Thus teachers would be expected to be able to set objectives that would reflect the teacher's assessment of the learning needs of his or her students and which would also accommodate for the influence of those factors which were expected to affect student progress in the obtaining circumstances. Similarly, because desired learning outcomes could not be prescribed by anyone other than the teacher, it would be equally inappropriate for anyone to impose the use of specific instruments for the measurement of student performance. Thus a teacher would not be expected to choose standardized student-achievement tests as an assessment technique, unless he or she believed that standardized tests were the most appropriate way of measuring some important aspect of student learning.

Ryan and Hickcox (1980) have described one school district's plans for using student achievement data in the evaluation of teachers in a way that would appear to be consistent with a D + + view of teaching.

> The Pomona school board first establishes district-level standards in educational goal statements (formulated by a District Curriculum Council and adopted by the board). During the process of formulation, participation is sought from teachers, parents, students, administrators, resource personnel, and community representatives. The goal statements are reviewed every third year at least. At the elementary grade level or secondary department level, relevant teachers annually review the goals and objectives and prepare brief statements of goals and objectives related to expected student progress for their grade level or their department.
>
> The process continues at the level of the individual teacher. Each year the school principal holds in-service meetings to review district-level goals, to familiarize them with the methods of preparing statements of expected student progress. (Note should be made that, as part of the total evaluation program in Pomona, evaluators such as principals are also given in-service training.) Each teacher then pre-assesses students and by November 10 prepares statements of expected student progress for each semester or full-year course to be taught.
>
> The district has forms for the teachers to use in making these statements, on which they must identify verifiable learning outcomes and indicate the assessment or measuring technique that will be used. It is important to note that the form is accompanied by guidelines, one of which lists seven suggested assessment techniques: skill performance tests; student projects, written and oral reports, and essay question responses; objective tests; observations; discussions and interviews; questionnaires and opinion surveys; and miscellaneous data (e.g., attendance rate). It is noted than any of these methods may be applied on a pre- and post-instructional basis to show growth, and that achievement need not be expressed in numerical terms.
>
> Once a teacher fills out the form, the principal reviews it. If a formal evaluation of the teacher is to be held during that year, the principal and teacher meet. Modifications can be made to the statements, but if teacher and principal disagree over any, the issue is to be resolved by the majority recommendation of a three-member committee composed of one member selected by the evaluatee, one selected by the evaluator, and one agreed upon by the two selected representatives. During the year, modifications to agreed-upon (or arbitrated) statements may be made by mutual agreement of teacher and principal; again disagreement may be resolved by the three-person committee. At the end of the year (or course or semester) the teacher assesses student achievement in terms of these statements. The results become part of the teacher's evaluation at the time of formally scheduled evaluations....
>
> The Pomona...strategy...seems quite fair to teachers in that they personally have the major role in establishing goals, setting standards, and conducting the assessment of student progress using a variety of techniques. (p. 53)

It is critical to emphasize here that because D + + work, be it teaching or otherwise, requires the exercise of a high degree of worker judgement and discretion, the monitoring of that work requires a high degree of judgement and discretion, as well. Monitoring is, in a sense, the process of the supervisor passing judgement on the worker's judgement. Thus, the teachers' supervisor's judgement must be informed. To an extent he or she must know much of what teachers know - that is, the supervisor himself or herself must be a skilful diagnostician, must understand the teaching/learning situation well enough to have a firm sense of what is possible and reasonable to expect, and must also be knowledgeable about the selection and application of methods for assessing student progress.

In summary, the decision to develop and implement formal performance-appraisal systems for the purpose of improving supervisory monitoring and feedback functions in education organizations should derive from an assessment of organizational readiness and need. Prerequisite to performance monitoring and feedback is the establishment of appropriate performance standards for educators, against which actual performance may be assessed. In other words, the education organization must have a sense of what information about staff performance is required in order to ensure that work is being carried out appropriately. This sense will be derived from the organization's view of the nature of teaching work. Then the organization must consider whether and how this information about performance is currently gathered and used. Where supervisory practices within an education organization already provide sufficient information to allow for effective control of organizational and individual performance, the development of a formal performance-appraisal system for that purpose is, obviously, unnecessary. Where this is the case, a school system may appropriately direct its efforts towards developing better strategies for improving performance of some or all workers; or, where need dictates, such a school system may devote resources to the task of developing a system that will provide the information and documentation required to support administrative decisions. However, where processes for monitoring and controlling work are deemed deficient in a school system, the development of performance-appraisal systems for any other purposes (i.e., formative or summative) should have lower priority than the development and implementation of satisfactory monitoring and feedback mechanisms.

Recommendation

18. Performance monitoring should be viewed as an essential management task in education organizations. The Ministry should undertake to examine how performance in education organizations is presently monitored, and to determine whether current monitoring practices are adequate to the task of ensuring that work is being done in a manner that is consistent with established performance standards.

19. Performance of individuals, units, or divisions should be monitored in ways that are consistent with the degree of discretion regarding the ends and means of performance accorded to that individual, unit, or division.

20. Where current performance-monitoring practices are inadequate, the Ministry should require school boards to develop and implement new ones. The extent to which these practices should be prescribed by the Ministry will depend upon the Ministry's view of the nature of teaching work. For example, if the Ministry takes a D -- view of teaching,

then it will be appropriate for the Ministry to prescribe criteria and methodologies that will be used for monitoring that are consistent with that view. However, if the Ministry takes a D - + view or a D + + view of teaching, then the school boards should be allowed to establish performance criteria and methodologies that are consistent with their own management strategies.

21. The level of supervision provided through monitoring practices should be related to the psychological and professional maturity of the individual worker, with respect to specific task assignments within jobs. By psychological maturity, we mean the worker's level of motivation to be self-regulating on the task; by professional maturity, we mean the worker's degree of mastery over the skills and knowledge required to perform the task. Employees of high maturity generally should be monitored less closely than employees of low maturity.

6.6 Options for Motivating and Rewarding Performance

A supervisor's judgement about the level of a worker's performance should derive from a comparison of actual performance with the supervisor's expectations about what the worker is expected to do and how well. The more that these expectations - the standards by which performance is judged - are explicit, known, and understood by the worker, and relevant to the critical requirements for a given job, the more effective supervision will be. The most relevant expectations for D - - work are expressed as expectations about observable processes; for D - + work, relevant expectations are mainly expressed as standards for measurable outputs; finally, for D + + work, they are most appropriately expressed as expectations about the worker's ability to diagnose needs, set objectives, plan, implement, achieve, and evaluate results. While it might be useful for certain purposes to be able to draw finer distinctions between workers' performances, at a minimum, supervisors must be able to distinguish between performance that falls below acceptable standards and performance that is at, or above, standard.

In all but the most poorly managed organizations, the work of the great majority of employees will, in fact, satisfy or exceed minimal performance expectations. Ideally, satisfactory performance will be motivated and reinforced through the application of reinforcement and reward techniques appropriate to the nature of the work in question.

Galbraith (1977) has constructed a behaviour/reward-system matrix which provides a useful framework for the consideration of issues related to rewarding and motivating performance. Briefly put, Galbraith's model assumes that lower-order reward strategies are required to motivate lower-order task behaviours, while higher-order rewards are required to motivate higher-order behaviours. Furthermore, he equates lower-order tasks with those that are undertaken where there is low task uncertainty, and higher-order tasks with those undertaken where workers are required to exercise considerable discretion either about means, or means and ends, because task uncertainty is high.

At the lower end of the continuum, where work tasks are preplannable and where requisite behaviours for effective performance can be prescribed in advance, what is required of workers is dependable role performance - that is, workers are simply required to "adopt reliably and consistently the same behaviours that others expect of them. Out of the range of...possible behaviours, individuals must perform only a few predictable ones to co-ordinate their activities with those of others." (Galbraith 1977: 250). This description is most relevant to D - - work, where standardized performance at minimum levels of quantity and quality are sufficient for effective task performance.

For work of this sort, supervisory personnel are expected to use their organizational authority to ensure that appropriate task behaviours are elicited. Inspection of work in progress serves to establish whether or not the worker is employing desired behaviours; depending upon the supervisor's judgement of "rule compliance", rewards are administered or withheld. Because the work can be said to have been performed or not performed, rewards are either granted or not granted. For example, employees may be granted an annual salary increment or not, depending upon whether or not they have performed dependably. For work of this sort, because workers may exercise little or no discretion for task performance, incentive rewards such as "pay for performance" schemes, are likely to have little impact.

Galbraith (1977) describes the next higher-order behaviour as "effort above minimal levels". This refers to

> effort within the prescribed role when the role occupants have some discretion over what the level of effort will be. These behaviours are measured by units of output, output per unit of time, and other efficiency measures. (pp. 250-251)

For work of this sort, where effort above a minimal level is both possible and desirable, workers have little or no discretion with respect to the results of their work, but can exert a significant impact on "how much" is accomplished. D - + workers can usually have impact on "how much" is accomplished; as well, D - - workers, while performing highly prescribed tasks, may also sometimes have impact on the quantity of results by exerting effort above minimum levels.

Galbraith's model suggests that because effort above a minimum level is a higher-order behaviour, higher-order rewards are called for on the motivational dimension. Thus reward management, while still requiring some supervisory oversight for rule compliance, can shift to individual or group incentive. In many cases, incentive compensation and "pay for performance" systems are important for the motivation of workers performing D - + work, where financial rewards are frequently tied to the achievement of prescribed and quantifiable results.

Still-higher-order behaviours, such as spontaneity and innovation, are essential for the performance of tasks where workers must exercise considerable discretion with respect to means (D - + work) or with respect to both means and ends (D + + work). Drawing upon the work of a number of motivational theorists, Galbraith concludes that such higher-order behaviors are not effectively elicited through the regulatory exercise of formal authority by a worker's supervisor, or solely through the application of extrinsic rewards for individual efforts. Instead, work at this level is more effectively performed when workers derive satisfaction from factors that are intrinsic to the work itself - that is, from what Galbraith (1977) refers to as task involvement.

> Individuals conceive of themselves as having certain skills. Their self-esteem is at stake in the performance of the task. The skilled craftsman, the scientist, and the professional are typical examples of jobs that rely on this source of motivation. To make use of this source...organizations select individuals with the appropriate self-concept and design roles with the opportunities for the expression of the skills and abilities that these individuals believe they have. (p. 259)

Goal identification is a second source of intrinsic motivation for work of this type.

> In this case the individual has internalized the goals of the organization and voluntarily chooses goal-related behaviours in the job situation. (p. 260)

Finally, co-operative behaviours may be particularly critical for work where both task uncertainty and the need for collaborative efforts are high. Organizations which require a high degree of collaborative effort must design reward systems that will elicit co-operation. Clearly reward for rule compliance will not do here, because co-operative behaviour is virtually impossible to legislate. Furthermore, because responsibility for the results of collaborative work is invariably and almost by definition shared, individual rewards will likely be inappropriate. Here group rewards which measure the outputs of the organization as a whole, or departmental or divisional results, will be more appropriate.

Galbraith (1977) suggests that the intrinsic reward of goal identification is also a significant motivational factor in eliciting co-operative behaviours.

> The greater the degree of goal identification, the greater the likelihood of co-operative behaviour. Individuals will choose to perform those co-operative behaviours which are perceived as instrumental to the attainment of goals with which they are identified. Given the potentially greater valences and instrumentalities of goal identification, it appears to be the most effective method of motivating co-operative behaviours. (p. 343)

Galbraith's behaviour/reward model may serve as a conceptual framework for decisions regarding motivation and reward management in education organizations. How this model is applied will depend upon one's view of the educational task, that is, the degree to which the educational task is seen as having task uncertainty and one's view of the nature of teaching work.

If task uncertainty in education is deemed to be low, and if it is believed that the overall task and subtasks of education can be rationally preplanned, then it is necessary only to train teachers in the use of highly routinized work procedures, processes, and practices (i.e., teaching as D - - work). Such standardized processes, if effectively carried out, should result in reliably consistent outcomes.

If, as Galbraith suggests, lower-order behaviours are required for dependable role performance in this D - - view of teaching work, then lower-order incentives should ensure satisfactory performance. This means that supervisors could inspect work in progress to ensure rule compliance and that basic extrinsic rewards, such as annual salary increments, could be granted or withheld according to performance.

If it is believed, however, that effort above minimum levels - the first level of discretionary behaviour - will result in measurably superior performance in education, then it is possible to consider the use of individual incentive systems to reward superior performance. The performance of individuals may be rank-ordered, so as to permit the awarding of bonuses or incentives based on relative merit. Such an approach would have to presume the existence of teaching outcomes which could be both quantified and objectively measured.

Finally, if teaching is viewed as a task possessing such a high degree of task uncertainty that considerable teacher discretion with respect to both ends and means is required for effective performance, then it is likely that higher-order, intrinsic motivational and reward factors will be required to elicit effective performance. Spontaneous and innovative behaviours will be required, and, depending upon the degree of collaboration expected of teachers in a given system, co-operative behaviours may be required as well. As has been seen, these higher-order behaviours are presumed to be supported by the higher-order rewards of task involvement and/or goal identification.

It should be noted, however, that there is evidence to suggest that reliance on either task involvement or goal identification as rewards for educators may be problematic at this time. Well-defined professional norms and performance standards for an occupational group are prerequisite to task involvement. The point has been made earlier in this report that standards and norms for teaching may not yet be sufficiently well defined or rigorously applied in the selection of prospective teachers to guarantee this sense of task involvement in teaching. Reliance on goal identification as a motivator may be similarly problematic, because organizational goals in education may exist only as generalized statements of desired ends. Where the achievement of goals is extremely difficult to ascertain, and success is, more or less, what anyone chooses to imagine it to be, it is difficult to motivate and manage collaborative efforts. Generalized goals allow individuals to exercise considerable freedom, often at the expense of effective co-operative behaviours.

Thus, it once more becomes apparent that an absence of explicit standards for organizational and individual performance and a lack of practical organizational goals lessens the posisbility of the application of some tried-and-true performance-management strategies. To the extent that education organizations lack clarity of direction or approach, they will also lack many of the management options that might otherwise be directed towards the control of performance in education.

6.7 Assessment-based Professional Development

Healthy organizations have the drive to improve their performance, and the capacity to adjust to changing expectations and environments. That drive and that capacity are reflected in the ability and willingness of employees to improve their own performance, to absorb new information, to learn new skills, and to apply new strategies in order to accommodate to changes in the workplace and in their assigned responsibilities. Organizations may or may not require employees to participate in specific developmental activities; the decision as to whether or not participation will be mandated is often a function of how change or improvement is deemed to be critical to continuing organizational effectiveness.

Employee-development activities may be broadly sorted into two categories: 1. those which are designed to address the specific strengths and/or weaknesses of individual workers, based on an assessment of the individual worker's actual performance or capabilities, and 2. those which are conceived of without the systematic assessment of the needs of individuals. The first type of activities may be referred to as assessment-based development, and the second type as non-assessment-based development.

Workshops, conferences, and seminars designed to familiarize groups of employees with new concepts, new materials, and new approaches to their work are primary examples of non-assessment-based development activities. Organizations commonly rely on these for the broad dissemination of information which is considered pertinent to the continuing effectiveness of the organization. Because they do not depend upon or involve the critical examination of employee strengths or weaknesses, non-assessment-based professional-development activities are generally not perceived as threatening by employees. This may be seen as a major advantage to the approach. However, because such employee-development activities are not based on assessed needs, they may be wasted on individuals for whom the new knowledge or skills or strategies are irrelevant, or of a low priority.

Assessment-based employee-development activities generally include some or all of the following steps:

- the collection of information about performance on the job;
- the identification of performance strengths and/or weaknesses based on an analysis of the information collected;
- the articulation of performance-improvement objectives;

- the identification of whatever organizational assistance (i.e., resource allocation, training, etc.) is required to support improvement efforts;
- the monitoring of progress towards the improvement objective(s); and
- a final evaluation of the extent to which improvement objectives have been achieved.

Towards the goal of improving performance in areas of assessed strengths or weaknesses, information about the processes used by an employee in his or her work is gathered by an "observer/evaluator" in order to identify areas where improvement or further development is warranted. Observation of work in progress is an essential aspect of many, if not most, assessment-based development plans, because observation is one of the most effective means for gathering information about work processes. In addition, other sources of information about performance may be collected to inform judgements about an employee's application of skills on the job. For example, where client contact is an important aspect of a given job, clients may be asked to provide information about how they view the performance of a particular employee.

As anyone who has ever been responsible for observing the work of others can attest, the ability to make accurate and useful observations does not necessarily come naturally. Rather, it is an ability which must itself be developed through training. Furthermore, not all observation is the same; that is, the skills and techniques associated with observation vary depending upon what precisely the observer is seeking. It is at the point of determining what should be the focus of observation in an assessment-based development scheme that the nature of work becomes a significant consideration.

Observation for the assessment of D - - work for the purpose of professional development should be, as has been pointed out earlier, a relatively straightforward matter because the standards for correct performance in work of this sort are very precise. An observer, whose task it is to identify strengths and weaknesses in current D - - performance, must be able to distinguish between work that is being carried out according to design and everything else. D - - performance thus lends itself to being rated on checklists against descriptions of correct practice. Areas of performance which deviate from prescription may be identified and called to the attention of the worker. In some situations, simply calling attention to the discrepancy between actual and ideal practice may be sufficient to encourage improvement. In other situations, the worker may need coaching in order to learn the correct practice. That coaching may be provided by the evaluator, or by anyone else who is an expert in teaching others how to do the job correctly.

When D - - work has been redesigned by an organization's cadre of technical specialists to meet new needs or to incorporate new strategies for getting work done, employees will need to be retrained. After a period of direct instruction in the new techniques or skills to be used, the retraining process is likely to include a period of assessment-based development, during which time the employee's on-the-job-performance of the new tasks or techniques is compared to standards of ideal new practice. As a result of these observations, the employee is provided with feedback and specific coaching, towards the end of bringing him or her to a point of sufficient competence so that new standards of performance may be established as the benchmark of acceptable performance on the job. Once these new benchmarks have been set as the minimum standards for performance in a given job, the D - - employee's performance will be periodically monitored by his or her supervisor; only then will a failure to demonstrate the appropriate new practices be cause for placing that worker "on review".

For D - + work and D + + work, the range of acceptable performance practices is considerably more broad, and thus process criteria and standards are less prescriptive than in the case of D - - work. For these reasons, observation of either D - + or D + + work in progress for the purpose of performance improvement is necessarily a more subjective and consultative process. The observer/evaluator in these cases may look for "rough spots" in performance, or for areas of performance which, if handled differently, would be likely to bring about increased efficiency or effectiveness. Alternatively, the employee may ask the evaluator to pay particular attention to, and make recommendations regarding, specific areas of performance which the employee believes need to be improved. Recommendations for changes in practice to bring about improved performance are made in light of the observations of the performance expert, and are derived in consulation with the employee.

In order to be capable of making useful judgements and recommendations the observer/evaluator of D - + and D + + work needs to be an expert in the activity he or she is observing. Not only must this evaluator be an expert; he or she must also be perceived as credible by the person being evaluated, for, if the employee does not believe that the evaluator knows what he or she is talking about, the importance and value accorded to observations and recommendations is likely to be low.

This fact points to the critical importance of correctly identifying the right person to serve as observer/evaluator in assessment-based professional development. The most critical factor in the choice of evaluator is his or her relevant expertise and credibility. The least critical factor is his or her position in the organization hierarchy vis-a-vis the person being evaluated. While it is conceivable that a person's immediate supervisor could serve the role of evaluator effectively, it is equally conceivable that the supervisor might not serve well.

According to our interviews with education experts, this observation may be particularly relevant to education organizations in Ontario. For example, it was repeatedly noted that many of the principals currently employed across this province had relatively little experience as classroom teachers; they had moved into administration precisely because they did not enjoy working in the classroom. Thus it was suggested that many principals had little useful advice to offer the experienced professional teaching in the classroom.

Our suggestion that evaluators in assessment-based development need not be supervisors puts us at odds with two of the most widely used North American models for the assessment-based professional development of teachers. In both Redfern's (1980) and Manatt's (1976) models the observer/evaluator of the teacher is expected to be the principal to whom he or she reports. It is important to note that, while both models state a primary concern with "professional development", both are also expected to contribute to the formulation of a summative employee evaluation - one which conceivably might conclude that performance critical to effectiveness of doing the job is below standard. In other words, these models have combined performance monitoring with professional development and in some instances remediation of substandard performance. In light of the fact that data from these assessments may potentially be used to make decisions about the job status of an individual employee, it is neither surprising nor inappropriate that the employee's supervisor is expected to serve in the role of evaluator.

What may be inappropriate, however, is the presumption that these three purposes - fostering improvement in competent employees, monitoring the performance of all employees against organizational standards, and remedying deficiencies in substandard performers - can all be well served by a single performance-appraisal activity. On the contrary, we believe that within the category of assessment-based development, there are some useful and critical distinctions to be drawn because employees will bring different types and levels of motivation to assessment-based development, depending, at least in part, upon their awareness, understanding, and acceptance of the purpose of the development initiative.

The first important distinction is between assessment-based developmental activities designed to allow competent employees to either remain effective or to become even more effective, and those assessment-based activities provided as remediation for employees whose performance has failed to satisfy minimal performance standards. Ideally and practically, developmental activities for competent workers, and the assessment required to plan these activities, should pose no significant threat to the employee; however, realistically and unavoidably, assessment and activities for remediation of the the substandard employee will carry some threat because the employment status of the worker is in jeopardy. Furthermore, because developmental activities are directed at bringing about some change in the way that a worker thinks about or handles responsibilities, it is important to recognize that the conditions needed to motivate an employee to change his or her performance, when continued employment is at stake, are significantly different from those needed to motivate change in an employee whose position is secure.

A second distinction should be made between assessment-based employee-development activities aimed at equipping employees with new skills, knowledge, or attitudes that will allow them to adjust to new standards which are being introduced into the organization, and those assessments and activities designed to improve already competent performance. Activities of the first sort may be conceived of as a type of retraining. They are an essential element in the organization's human-resource-planning strategy. In such cases, employees need to understand that at some future time they will have to be able to perform according to different standards in order to keep their jobs, and that these developmental activities are being provided in order to ensure that they have had fair and ample opportunities to develop the critical new competencies. In contrast are those assessment-based activities which are derived from the assumption that there is always room for improvement, that even competent and mature employees can grow and get better at what they do.

This distinction raises an important question about responsibility for change and growth on the job: Whose responsibility is it, anyway? When standards of performance are changing in an organization, and when employees will ultimately be obliged to perform differently (or better), the organization has a clear moral responsibility and technical need to ensure that employees have adequate opportunities to learn and develop the skills, knowledge, and/or attitudes that will become essential to continuing competence on the job. In these circumstances it is reasonable and appropriate that employee participation in such professional-development schemes be mandatory, for without such participation the employee will, in the forseeable future, be unlikely to be able to perform effectively. In this sense, involvement in development "as required" can be part of an employee's job description.

In contrast, where the interest in professional development is more broadly conceived of as an effort to encourage improved performance or professional "growth", the organization's options with regard to the provision of developmental activities for employees are different. The question here is whether it is appropriate or effective to mandate "growth" through participation in assessment-based development. It is understood that a sense of need to change performance is prerequisite to bringing about change in performance. As has been noted above, an organization can create that sense of need by expressing its determination to change performance standards or requirements. However, where standards are not changing, and thus change in performance on the job is not required for "survival", motivating change is more complicated.

Some well-known principles of adult learning may be violated by organizations that require all employees to "grow" through participation in assessment-based developmental activities. For example, as Brundage and Mackeracher (1980) note:

> In such circumstances (where the adult learner feels that he is being forced to participate in a learning program against his wishes) adults will behave as if they were non-voluntary learners, with the same problems as turn up in children's compulsory learning programs: erratic attendance, lack of "motivation", lack of progress, disruptive behaviour, and so on....
>
> Perhaps the most useful point which can be made is that adults learn more productively when they feel they are voluntary learners with the right to choose whether or not they will actually learn. (p. 20)

It needs to be acknowledged that participation in a professional-development activity is no guarantee of professional growth (you can lead a horse to water but....). A recent survey of performance-appraisal practices in Ontario school boards may be interpreted as proof of this point (Lawton et al. 1984). That survey shows that the large majority of appraisal systems used by Ontario school boards is intended to serve the professional development needs of personnel, and that participation in these assessment-based professional-development activities is usually, if not always, mandated by policy. In light of those two conditions, it is interesting to note that 40.5% of teachers surveyed perceived that their own performance had not improved at all as a result of evaluation and another 44% said that they had improved only a small amount. A host of alternative explanations for the apparent failure of these systems to bring about significant improvement in teachers (at least improvement recognized as such by the teachers themselves) is possible. One explanation that should not be overlooked is the fact that teachers have not been given a choice about whether or not they will participate. It is highly conceivable that many entered into the assessment activity either unmotivated to change, or unconvinced that this particular activity would be of benefit to them. Either mind set could be expected to work against the probability of learning taking place.

Some organizations (notably many in the education sector) provide cash incentives for employees who participate in certain voluntary developmental activities, such as advanced study, or special training programs. Some non-cash incentives such as the opportunity to travel to conferences, and the chance to have a break from routine, also commonly motivate participation in voluntary professional development. While cash and non-cash incentives may be effective means for motivating some employees to engage in certain developmental activities, these incentives do not necessarily create the conditions essential for motivating personal change. Rather that motivation must come, at least in part, from the employee's identification with the goal and with the task, and from his or her belief that by participating in the development activity, effectiveness, satisfaction on the job, and self-esteem are likely to increase. When a professional-development activity is perceived to offer appropriate, relevant, and credible assistance, the power of cash and non-cash incentives pale beside the power of individual determination to make work more enjoyable.

Given our position that a positive mind set towards the developmental activity is probably a prerequisite to effective employee development, we question the value of requiring all employees to participate in the same assessment-based development scheme, according to the same schedule, regardless of their motivation to do so. Doing so appears to us to be as inappropriate as expecting all students to profit from the same instructional strategy according to the same timetable.

While assessment for performance-monitoring purposes is an organizational necessity, and thus it is reasonable to make participation in such an assessment mandatory, ordering participation in assessments for professional development is likely to lessen the probability that the employee will be receptive to the "opportunity" for growth. Once again our position puts us at odds with both Redfern and Manatt whose models of performance-appraisal and professional development dictate that every teacher in a school system should be expected to to be evaluated in the assessment-based development activity.

Of all the assessment-based development models currently used by education organizations to foster improvement in competent professionals, the one that appears to be most relevant and appropriate to a D - + or a D + + view of teaching work is the Clinical Supervision model. This model encourages the employee to identify specific areas of performance which he or she is interested in improving or developing; professional development is facilitated through a collegial relationship between the clinical supervisor and the employee. The foundation for an effective assessment-based professional-development activity would appear to be present where teachers are allowed (but not required) to participate in a Clinical-Supervision relationship with an evaluator whose expertise the teacher respects and values (not necessarily the teacher's supervisor).

Finally, it is necessary to state here that we do not mean to minimize the importance of providing educational personnel with opportunities for professional development (assessment-based or otherwise) when we suggest that some of these probably should not be made mandatory. There is danger that our conclusions here could be misconstrued to support a reduction in support for professional-development activities. Such use of our conclusions would be illegitimate, for we know from experience that critical benefits to individual and organizational effectiveness can accrue from well-conceived and effectively delivered professional-development opportunities. Rather, the point to be made here is that those benefits are more likely to accrue when the opportunity for professional development is seen more as a job benefit, or as a reward, than as something to be tolerated for the sake of complying with organizational policy.

Recommendation

22. Employee participation in assessment-based development activities designed to bring workers up to standards that will govern performance in the future should be mandatory, and part of a worker's job description. Until a reasonable period of time has been alloted for workers to acquire the skills, knowledge, and attitudes necessary to achieve these standards, performance in relation to new standards should not be used to make job-status or salary decisions.

23. Opportunities for teachers to participate in assessment-based developmental activities which are not tied to present or future minimum-performance standards should be promoted, and should be provided on demand. Participation in this form of professional development should be voluntary.

24. Evaluators in assessment-based developmental activities should be selected on the basis of their relevant expertise and credibility to the employee. The evaluator may, but need not necessarily, be the employee's supervisor. Judgements about performance, made in the course of assessment-based professional development, should not be used as evidence to support job-status decisions.

6.8 Remediation and Review of Substandard Performance

Employees whose work does not meet organizational standards, either because they are unable or unwilling, undermine the effectiveness of their organizations in at least two ways: 1. by failing to meet their own responsibilities, they become obstacles in the way of overall organizational performance; and 2. their incompetence or uncooperative behaviour demoralizes and demotivates other workers in the organization. Thus, substandard performance is not something which an organization can long ignore or endure.

Substandard performance of an employee is, in a sense, the unit supervisor's problem: the supervisor's responsibility is to identify the cause of the problem and take appropriate remedial actions. Identification of cause and appropriate follow-up requires of the supervisor the ability to analyze a substandard performance in order to discriminate between those situations where the worker is at fault and those where circumstances beyond the worker's control have resulted in the substandard performance. There is a number of possible explanations for substandard performance which may have little or no reflection on the competence or commitment of the worker: expectations may not have been clearly communicated; there may be organizational roadblocks to satisfactory performance which need to be cleared; the worker may not have been provided with adequate resources on time; the task itself may need to be redesigned. It is critical that a supervisor be able to distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate excuses for substandard performance.

Following up on substandard performance has two aspects: the first is an attempt to remedy the problem, by helping the worker to improve; the second is in the steps taken to terminate the employment contract, where the improvement of the worker is deemed to be impossible. Many education organizations describe the process of handling substandard employee performance as an "on review" cycle. By this, it is generally suggested that an individual's performance is sufficiently outside the bounds of acceptability, that the organization has to reconsider that person's place in the organization. It is critical to make a distinction between efforts to assess and improve performance which is basically satisfactory, but might be stimulated to improve and become even more competent, and efforts to bring a substandard performance up to an acceptable level. The consequences of the worker failing to improve in the first situation should be dramatically different from those that would accrue to a worker in the latter circumstances.

Doing something about substandard performance, where the root of the problem is incompetent or uncooperative employee behaviour, takes skill, will, and a concern for the rights of workers on the part of management. Coaching, counselling, or training of the employee may be provided in order to bring performance up to par. These remedial actions are aimed at improving performance and are taken on the assumption that, if performance is not satisfactory, the most efficient, effective, and humane response is to try to make it satisfactory - not by lowering standards, but by improving the skills, knowledge, or attitudes of the worker in question. These remedial actions are also based on the assumption that a failure to bring performance up to standard will result in action to terminate the employment contract.

Efforts directed at performance improvement in this context will be shaped by an understanding of the nature of the work in question and a clear understanding of performance standards. Performance monitoring of D - - work may reveal a serious discrepancy between process standards and the processes used by an employee. The supervisor in this instance should be able to call the discrepancy to the attention of the worker. What needs to change, for performance to meet standards, is the process being used by the employee. If inappropriate processes are being used because the worker lacks the skills or knowledge needed to do things "right", the supervisor may arrange for an opportunity for the worker to be re-educated or retrained. Putting this in an educational context, where teaching is viewed as D - - work, a principal's observations of classroom performance may thus determine whether or not a teacher is performing appropriately by following the practices and procedures prescribed by the organization. Where a teacher consistently fails to adhere to these practices, performance will be deemed substandard, and the principal will be able to point out the areas of deficiency to the teacher, based on his or her observations. The principal may then arrange for additional coaching, counselling, or retraining to help the teacher learn to do the job as it has been defined.

Regular performance monitoring is unlikely to uncover the source of the performance problem where a D - + worker fails to achieve results which meet minimum-output standards. Monitoring of outputs will allow the judgement that performance has not satisfied minimum standards, but will not tell the employee what to do differently to get better results. Thus, an organization committed to helping a D - + worker bring his or her performance up to par will need to observe the worker on the job. The purpose of observation in this case, is to identify areas of performance which might be handled differently, to get better results. Changes in process and practice may be recommended to the D - + employee as a result of this observation, but the employee should not be made accountable for following specific recommendations, because his or her continued employment does not depend upon following the recommendations. Instead, continued employment will hinge upon his or her ability to raise outputs up to standard.

Where observation of work in progress is conducted for the purpose of helping an individual to improve, the observer need not necessarily be the worker's supervisor. Instead, it is critical that the observer have a solid understanding of the work in question, knowledge of alternative strategies for achieving desired results, and highly developed skills in observation and the provision of feedback.

Putting all this in an educational context, where teaching is viewed as D - + work, and teachers are expected to be able to provide specific evidence of the progress of their students, the substandard teacher will be unable to show such evidence. The principal's monitoring of performance, by checking student-achievement measures, is unlikely to reveal the cause of the teacher's inadequacy. In order to provide remedial assistance, the teacher's classroom practices will need to be observed to identify areas of performance that might be handled more effectively. It is important to note, however, that the teacher in this situation should not be held exclusively accountable for following recommendations regarding teaching processes; rather, his or her accountability continues to be the accomplishment of specified levels of student progress. Successful remediation will be reflected not simply by the fact that the teacher does something differently, but more importantly by the evidence of improved levels of student progress.

The point has been made repeatedly in this report that control of D + + performance on the job is considerably more complicated than that of D - - or D - + work, and that the most effective way of controlling D + + performance is to ensure that the workers who are hired are competent to exercise discretion judiciously. Beyond the selection of qualified workers, organizations which employ D + + workers must ensure that those workers perform effectively in five distinct performance areas: diagnosis, setting of appropriate objectives, planning, implementation of plans, and the achievement and evaluation of results.

In the course of monitoring D + + work, substandard performance may be reflected either in an individual's ability to make accurate or appropriate diagnoses, or by his or her failure to set objectives which are consistent with both the diagnoses that have been made and with the broader goals and objectives of the organization. Substandard performance may also be indicated by a failure to be able to bring about appropriate results that are consistent with the objectives that have been established. To the extent that an organization has been able to clearly describe standards for appropriate diagnoses, objectives, and results, unsatisfactory performance in light of those standards may be cause for placing an employee on review.

Efforts to help improve a D + + worker should be directed towards those aspects of performance which are below standard. Thus, where an individual fails to use appropriate diagnostic strategies, specific training in the use of correct diagnostic techniques is required. Similarly, where the worker fails to set appropriate objectives, specific guidance and training related to setting objectives is required.

Where a D + + worker is placed on review because he or she has failed to achieve appropriate results, the effectiveness of the individual's workplan and processes comes into question. This is one instance when it becomes appropriate for a D + + worker to be observed on the job. Observation of work processes, for the purpose of recommending changes in practice to bring about improved results, should be conducted by a skilled observer who is familiar with a range of approaches to the work under consideration. Because the responsibility of this observer is to provide assistance to the worker on review, and not to pass judgement on his or her continued status in the organization, the observer need not be the worker's supervisor, but may be anyone who possesses the relevant expertise necessary to help the employee improve.

Where teaching is viewed as D + + work, failure to correctly use appropriate diagnostic techniques or failure to set appropriate student-learning objectives may be deemed a reflection of substandard performance. So may a failure to bring about levels of student progress that are consistent with objectives that have been set. The improvement of performance related to diagnosis and objective setting may be facilitated by providing the teacher with expert guidance and coaching in these two areas. Where the progress of students has failed to meet appropriate objectives, teachers may be helped to improve by providing them with constructive feedback about their teaching practices, and by making recommendations for alternative teaching strategies. In such situations, the observation of the teacher in the classroom is likely to yield information that will enable an expert in instructional techniques to provide helpful feedback and appropriate recommendations.

There will be times when attempts to improve the performance of a worker fail. In such cases an organization will be faced with having to transfer the worker to a task he or she is able to perform, or, failing this opportunity, to terminate the worker's employment contract. For the organization and the worker, termination is the most extreme remedial action that can be taken. In certain situations it is the only alternative and, as Jacques (1977) has pointed out, safeguards must be in place to ensure that such action is justified and defensible. Thus, dismissal for cause is no longer a technically simple matter of informing the employee that his or her services are no longer required. Rather, the rights of employees to due process are entrenched in employment contracts and are supported by the laws of jurisdictions across North America.

Due process refers to the rights of employees to be treated fairly. When considering legal challenges to dismissals, courts have required that due process be reflected in all the processes leading up to the act of termination. There are four cornertones to fair and defensible dismissal procedures:

- First, the employee must be informed of the standards by which his or her performance will be assessed.
- Second, the employee must be notified that serious deficiencies in his or her performance exist and that if these deficiencies are not corrected this may be cause for dismissal.
- Third, the employee must be informed that he or she will be given a chance to improve, and that the organization will provide assistance directed towards that improvement.
- Finally, a reasonable amount of time must be allotted for the correction of deficiencies.

Substandard performance, if not remediated within a reasonable length of time (six months is often considered a minimum), should in most cases lead to action to transfer an individual to a position where his or her performance will be satisfactory, or, failing that possibility, to action to terminate employment. It is critical, therefore, that from the moment a supervisor makes the determination that an individual's performance is not up to par, management take great care to correctly adhere to all policies or procedures and to observe all laws which govern disciplinary procedures in the organization's jurisdiction. Because it may later be necessary to show evidence that due process has been followed, careful documentation of the entire on-review cycle is essential; for this reason, it is critical to develop specific and separate procedures for managing the remediation-and-performance review of workers whose efforts fail to satisfy minimal standards, or whose behaviours violate the codes of professional and personal conduct established by the organization.

The nuts and bolts of legally defensible dismissal practices are spelled out in detail in the contracts between most teacher groups and school boards, with details varying somewhat from jurisdiction to jurisdiction. The important point here is that in our discussions with education experts across Ontario it was never claimed that educational organizations lacked understanding about the processes necessary for terminating an incompetent teacher. Instead, it was suggested repeatedly that education organizations resist dismissing ineffective employees because it is "too much trouble". The nuts and bolts are seen as so time-consuming and the costs so high, in terms of time and legal fees, that they are considered to be prohibitive.

What appears to be lacking in these organizations is not so much the skill required to improve or terminate substandard employees, as the will to do so. No performance-appraisal system, however well-designed to document irremediable substandard performance, can do the "dirty work" of bringing about a termination, unless the will to see the job through exists in the management of the organization. While organizations may put a high price tag on the costs associated with dismissal, it is more difficult to determine the dollar value of costs associated with failing to remove incompetent personnel. Nevertheless, it is clear that these costs are likely to be just as high, if not more so. The persistent presence of an incompetent co-worker demotivates competent employees and makes their work that much more difficult; students suffer and the credibility and reputation of the school and school board is seriously damaged when it appears to be unwilling to defend standards of teacher performance.

The will to dismiss employees whose performance fails to satisfy minimum standards is reflected in the extent to which anyone in the organization is held accountable for dealing with substandard performance. At the bottom line, supervisors are responsible for ensuring that the work done within their units is done effectively. For this reason it is appropriate to hold principals accountable for managing the remediation or removal of incompetent teachers within their schools. By the same token, superintendents should have that accountability with regard to substandard principal performance, and directors of education must exercise that responsibility in relation to superintendents. The will to deal with substandard performance may be expressed by ensuring that the monitoring of performance of those in supervisory positions in educational hierarchies includes attention to the handling of accountabilities. Thus substandard supervisory performance would be indicated by the failure to take appropriate action regarding incompetent performance of individuals working within a supervisor's area of responsibility.

It is important to acknowledge that, while the dismissal of an incompetent employee may be a technically straightforward issue, it is rarely uncomplicated emotionally. Nevertheless, organizational effectiveness depends, to some degree, on the commitment to maintaining performance standards for the organization as a whole and for individual workers within the organization. Leadership from the top of the organization is particularly critical with regard to demonstrating that the organization is unable and unwilling to endure incompetence.

When workers at lower levels of an organization see that the performance of managers at higher levels is monitored, and that incompetent managers are removed for failing to perform effectively, they are more likely to believe that the organization expects and requires satisfactory performance from all workers.

Recommendation

25. Consistent failure to perform at levels which are at, or above, minimum performance standards should be cause for dismissal.

26. Employees whose performance fails to satisfy minimal performance standards must be accorded the protection of due process.

27. Procedures for managing the remediation and performance review of employees whose efforts fail to satisfy minimum performance standards, or whose behaviour violates any established and explicit codes of professional conduct, should be developed and implemented separately from other standard performance monitoring and professional-development procedures. Careful documentation of the entire remediation/review period should be maintained.

28. When, in the course of regular performance-monitoring practice, a supervisor makes the judgement that a worker's performance fails to meet minimum standards, from the moment that judgement is made, management should take great care to adhere precisely to all the policies, procedures, and laws which govern disciplinary procedures in the organization's jurisdiction.

29. Principals, superintendents, and directors of education should be held accountable for ensuring that the employees, whose performance they supervise, satisfy minimal performance standards. Similarly, they should be held accountable for ensuring that unsatisfactory performance is dealt with in a fashion that is timely, appropriate, and contributory to the effectiveness of the organization overall.

30. The decision to retain or dismiss an employee should be based on his or her ability to bring performance up to minimum performance standards.

7.0 Conclusions

This present report has been written primarily for those educators and policy makers who have responsibility for making choices about the use of personnel-evaluation systems in the school boards of Ontario. The document has had three major objectives:

- To raise the reader's level of understanding of what may and may not be accomplished through the development and implementation of personnel performance-evaluation systems;
- To raise the reader's awareness and understanding of conceptual and technical issues related to the development and implementation of effective personnel performance-evaluation systems for the Ontario school system;

and

- To provide recommendations for decisions and actions to be taken by the Ministry of Education, so that it may provide appropriate and effective leadership with respect to using performance-appraisal systems to address some of the critical challenges to quality that will face Ontario's education system over the next decade.

The track record of performance-evaluation systems, in both the public and private sectors, has been far from impressive. Nevertheless, organizations continue to allocate resources for the development, implementation, and maintenance of these systems, and for good reason. That is, that the needs which performance-appraisal systems are expected to serve (i.e., to provide a rational basis for a host of personnel decisions) have not gone, and will not go, away, simply because ideal technologies for meeting those needs have yet to be devised.

For the most part, efforts to create new and better performance-evaluation systems have resulted in recombinations of old elements - a little less of one activity or the involvement of one player, a bit more of some other. This report has taken the position that these "new" systems, like their predecessors, continue to be underconceptualized. By assuming that the problems associated with performance-appraisal systems may be treated as technical concerns in need of technical solutions, developing performance-evaluation systems have overlooked some more fundamental conceptual problems, which persistently undermine the effectiveness of performance-appraisal technologies.

A basic premise here is that performance-appraisal systems cannot be effective if they are conceived of, and implemented, as discrete and isolated systems within an organization. Instead effective performance-appraisal systems will be derived from, and be integrally linked to, a broader perspective on performance-management systems in any given organization. By performance-management systems we mean the range of organizational activities and decisions through which mission and objectives are defined, strategy is planned, and performance is monitored and controlled.

A second pivotal premise is that effective performance management (and consequently effective performance appraisal) will need to incorporate an accurate understanding of the fundamental nature of the work that is done by the operating core of an organization. We suggest that, if work is to be managed effectively and appraised appropriately, it is essential to appreciate not only the quantitative differences between the types of work that can be done by and for organizations, but also the qualitative differences that exist. To support such an appreciation we have developed, in chapter 4, a model of the nature of work that describes three basic types of work and the different strategies appropriate for managing that work.

This report has stressed the importance of developing an explicit and consensual view of the nature of teaching work - the work of the operating core of the education system - as a prerequisite to the development of a viable performance-evaluation system within any given educational jurisdiction. With a consistently held view of teaching, it is possible to develop consistent and appropriate policies and procedures for the mangement and evaluation of teaching personnel; without consistency with respect to how teaching work is understood, policy and procedure to ensure effective performance are likely to be inconsistent at best, and dysfunctional and disruptive at worst.

At first glance it may seem more expedient to many educators to develop and/or adopt neat and tidy performance-appraisal technologies that beg the messy questions about the purpose and objectives of the educational enterprise, the nature of teaching work, and the criteria and standards for performance both of the system as a whole and of individuals working within the system. By so doing, it may be possible to create at least the appearance of a rational base for a variety of personnel decisions in a relatively short time. However, treating performance appraisal as an isolated technical exercise will not make these larger, more difficult, conceptual, and often politically sensitive questions go away. These questions will simply re-emerge at the point where decision makers should be dealing with straightforward technical problems, and will render these technical problems virtually unmanageable.

Recommendations about the decisions and actions that must be taken with respect to the development and application of performance-appraisal systems in the Ontario education system have been provided within the first six chapters of this report. We put these recommendations in appropriate chapters so that those who read reports of this type by starting with the conclusions could not take our recommendations out of context. Our recommendations are grounded in the conceptual framework that the report develops; thus, familiarity with the preceding chapters is essential if the recommendations are to make sense to the reader.

One final recommendation needs to be made if the educational community is to make efficient progress towards more effective personnel-evaluation systems.

Recommendation

31. The educational community requires a common language with which to discuss and examine issues related to performance-appraisal. A terminology that reflects the variety of purposes that may be served by performance-appraisal systems, and distinguishes clearly between these, should be adopted and its use promoted, in order to facilitate more meaningful dialogue about appraisal and to make it possible to make comparisons between alternative practices.

Bibliography

Bidwell, Charles, E. "The School as a Formal Organization" in Handbook of Organizations, ed. by J.G. March. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965.

Boettinger, Henry M. "The Management Challenge" in Challenge to Leadership: Managing in a Changing World. The Conference Board. New York: The Free Press, 1973.

Borich, Gary D., ed. Evaluating Educational Programs and Products. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Educational Technology Publications, 1974.

Bortner, Doyle M. "Coping with Demands for Instructional Accountability". NASSP Bulletin (May 1979), pp. 33-42.

Broudy, Harry. "Teaching - Craft or Profession?". The Educational Forum. 20 (January 1956), pp. 175-84.

Brundage, Donald H., and Mackeracher, Dorothy. Adult Learning Principles and Their Application to Program Planning. Toronto: Ministry of Education, 1980.

Carlson, Robert V., and Park, Richard. "Teacher Evaluation: Relevant Concepts and Related Procedures". Available through ERIC ED 129 739, June 1976.

Corwin, R.G. "Models of Educational Organizations". Review of Research in Education, ed. by F.N. Kerlinger. 2, Itasca, Ill.: F.E. Peacock, 1974.

Darling-Hammond, Linda. "Mad Hatter Tests of Good Teaching". New York Times Magazine (January 8, 1984), p. 57.

Darling-Hammond, Linda; Wise, Arthur E.; and Pease, Sara R. "Teacher Evaluation in the Organizational Context: A Review of the Literature". Review of Educational Research 53 (Fall 1983), pp. 285-328.

Drucker, Peter F. Management: Tasks, Responsibilities, Practices. New York: Harper and Row, 1974.

Elliott, John; Bridges, David; Ebbutt, Dave; Gibson, Rex; and Nias, Jennifer. School Accountability: The SSRC Cambridge Accountability Project. London (England): Grant McIntyre Ltd., 1981.

Flynn, John J. "Evaluation of School Administrators". Comment on Education. (October 1978), pp. 5-8.

Friedman, Milton. "The Role of Government in Education". In Robert A. Solo, ed., Economics and the Public Interest. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1955.

Galbraith, Jay. Designing Complex Organizations. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1973.

Galbraith, Jay. Organization Design. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1977.

Gudridge, Beatrice M. Teacher Competency: Problems and Solutions. Sacramento, California: American Association of School Administrators, Education News Service, 1980.

Hersey, Paul, and Blanchard, Ken. "Situational Leadership". Burlington, Ontario: Centre for Leadership Studies, 1976.

Hunter, Madelaine. "Teacher Competency: Problem, Theory, and Practice". Theory Into Practice 15, No. 2 (April 1976), pp. 162-70.

Jacques, Elliott. A General Theory of Bureacracy. New York: Halstead Press, 1977.

Keene, Judith. Human Rights in Ontario.. Toronto: Carswell Company Ltd., 1983.

Khandwalla, Pradip N. The Design of Organizations. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Javonovich, Inc., 1977.

Lawton, Stephen B.; Hickcox, Edward S.; Leithwood, Kenneth; and Musella, Donald F. "The Development and Use of Performance Appraisal of Certified Education Staff in Ontario School Boards". Unpublished report, Ontario Ministry of Education, Toronto, 1984.

Levin, Benjy. "Teacher Evaluation - A Review of Research". Educational Leadership. (December 1979), pp. 240-45.

Levinson, Harry. "Appraisal of What Performance?" Harvard Business Review (July - August), 1976.

Lewis, A. Evaluating Educational Personnel. Arlington, Virginia: American Association of School Administrators, 1982.

Lipsky, Michael. Street Level Bureacracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Service. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1980.

Manatt, Richard P.; Palmer, Kenneth L.; and Hidlebaugh, Everett. "Evaluating Teacher Performance with Improved Rating Scales". NASSP Bulletin 60, No. 401 (1976), pp. 21-24.

McDaniel, Thomas R. The Teacher's Profession: Essays on Becoming an Educator. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1982.

Meyer, John W., and Rowan, Brian. "The Structure of Educational Organizations". In Environments and Organizations, M.W. Meyer, ed. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1978.

Millman, Jason, ed. Handbook of Teacher Evaluation. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1981.

Mintzberg, Henry. Structure in Fives: Designing Effective Organizations. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1983.

Nalbandian, John. "Performance Appraisal: If Only People Were Not Involved". Public Administration Review. (May-June 1981), pp. 392-96.

Ondrack, Daniel A., and Oliver, Christine E. "A Review and Analysis of Performance Appraisal Processes". Unpublished report, Ontario Ministry of Education, 1984a.

_____. "Performance Appraisal for Professional Service Employees: Field Study Report". Unpublished report, Ontario Ministry of Education, October 1984b.

Patz, Alan L. "Performance Appraisal: Useful But Still Resisted". Harvard Business Review, (May-June 1975), pp. 74-80.

Perrow, Charles. Organizational Analysis: A Sociological View. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1970.

Porter, L.; Lawler III, E.; and Hackman, R. Behaviour in Organizations. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975, pp. 69-71.

Ralph, Person M. "Performance Evaluation: One More Try". Public Personnel Management Journal 9, No. 3 (1980), pp. 145-53.

Redfern, George B. Evaluating Teachers and Administrators: A Performance Objectives Approach. Boulder, Colorado: Westwiew Press, 1980.

Robinson, Floyd G. "Superordinate Curriculum Guidelines: Their Role in Classroom Decision Making". In Studies in Curriculum Decision Making. Toronto: OISE Press, 1982, pp. 132-82.

Rowbottom, R.W., and Billis, D. "The Stratification of Work and Organizational Design". Human Relations 30, No. 1 (1977), pp. 53-76.

Ryan, D.W., and Hickcox, E.S. Redefining Teacher Evaluation. Toronto: OISE Press, 1980.

Ryan, Kevin, and Cooper, James. Those Who Can, Teach. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1975.

Sapone, Carmelo V. "An Appraisal and Evaluation System for Teachers and Administrators". Educational Technology (May 1980), pp. 44-49.

Sayles, Leonard. Leadership: What Effective Managers Really Do... and How They Do It. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1979.

Soar, Robert S., and Soar, Ruth N. Problems in Using Pupil Outcomes for Teacher Evaluation. Washington D.C.: National Education Association, 1975.

Webber, Ross A. Management: Basic Elements of Managing Organizations. Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1975.

Weick, Karl E. "Educational Organizations as Loosely Coupled Systems". Administrative Science Quarterly 21 (March 1976), 1-19.

Winstanley, N.B. "Legal and Ethical Issues in Performance Appraisal", Harvard Business Review (November - December 1980), pp. 186-92.

Wise, Arthur E.; Darling-Hammond, Linda; McLaughlin, Milbrey W.; and Berstein, Harriet T. Teacher Evaluation: A Study of Effective Practices. Santa Monica, California: Rand Corporation, 1984.

Wuhs, Susan K., and Manatt, Richard B. "The Pace of Mandated Teacher Evaluation Picks Up". The American School Board Journal (1983-84), p. 28.

Young, David G. Education Vouchers: Boon and Bane. Alberta Education Planning and Research, 1981.